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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
British
Archaeological Association

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE
ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

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J. R. SMITH, 36, SOHO SQUARE.

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LONG TOE SOLI, ERET. of the 15th century.

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

MARCH 1855.

ON THE SOLLERET.

BY JAMES JAMES, ESQ., F.S.A.

FROM the time of the conquest to the period when the art of attack had far surpassed that of defence, as exhibited in the protection of the combatant by plates of steel, the exact date of an illumination, a brass, or a monument, may be readily determined either by the form of the helmet, or the covering of the breast; but by neither of these modes will greater certainty be assured than by an examination of the defences of the foot when taken in connexion with the spur.

The spur being, in the early days of our monarchy, a distinctive mark of knighthood, and until a comparatively recent period, at least, that of an esquire or a gentleman, it is not surprising that it should have received an amount of attention which secured it a share of the elegant form and expensive decoration which, in the progress of time, converted the rough chain-mail of our Norman conquerors into those triumphs of art which were designed and executed by Benvenuto Cellini and his contemporaries.

At first the spur was a mere goad, consistent in the simplicity of its form with the character of a coat-of-mail, afterwards assuming various shapes more or less elegant, until, becoming the superbly-fashioned ornament of the first Charles, it rapidly subsided into the inelegant appendage in use amongst sportsmen of the present day.

At the ceremony by which the esquire worthy of the

honour of knighthood, was elevated to that position, the fastening of the spur was a most important feature, and was, according to some, the very first act; and the esteem in which this knightly appendage was held is shown by the careful manner in which the sculptors and workers in brass preserved its details upon the monumental effigies which they were commissioned to execute; and by afterwards forming part of the trophy of arms which, when the scene of earthly glory had closed, decorated the tomb of the deceased cavalier.

This custom of suspending the arms and spurs over the tombstone was continued to the reign of James II. A pair of spurs of that period are now hanging in the little church of Steane, on the borders of Northamptonshire. Mr. Fairholt, in the glossary to his *Costume in England*, gives an illustration of a pair of boots of the time of James II, now suspended from an iron bracket in the church at Shot-tisbrooke, Berks. Without doubt they originally carried the spurs, which have shared the fate of many other of our knightly trophies, and either from carelessness or dishonesty have disappeared.

Sir Walter Scott, in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, has properly introduced the degradation of sir John Ramorny, previous to his execution, in the loss of his spurs by the cook's cleaver, as the grossest insult which could be put upon a felon knight.

In the collection of M. Guenebault, at Paris, there is an engraving on wood, bearing the monogram A. J., depicting the degradation of a cavalier. The knight is brought to a public place, and in the presence of lords and ladies, who look on from the windows, and in view of a crowd of common people, is carried from his war horse and placed astride a rail: his helmet, spurs, and gauntlets, are then taken from him, amidst derisive blasts blown by a band of trumpeters.

I propose to show, by a few illustrations, the successive changes which have taken place in the fashion of the foot, and to commence with the monument (in the nave of Salisbury cathedral) of William Longespée, the son of Henry II by Rosamond de Clifford. It will be seen (plate 2, fig. 1) that the foot is defended by a chain-mail, made to fit like a stocking: it is armed with a pryckspur, the neck of which, commencing with an ornamental boss, assumes a down-

1.



William Longespée.
1227.

2.



Sir John de Creke.
1325.

3.



Sir John Hanley.
1403.

4.



Sir Robert del Bothe.
1460.

5.



Sir Henry Grey.
1493.

6.



Henry Everard, Esq.
1524.

7.



John Browne, Esq.
1597.

8.



Robert Alfouder.
1639.

ward curvature. The arms are considerably depressed and curved, to give ease to the ankle ; they finish on both sides with a groove, through which a strap passes, to be securely buckled on the instep. The figure which illustrates this portion of the paper is taken from Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*. William Longespée died in 1227.

About a century after, we find the chain-mail sock with an additional covering of steel, laid on in laminated plates, the sole and heel being protected, as heretofore, by chain-mail only. The spur is now rowelled, and at the point where the leathers join the neck is decorated with ornamental bosses, which appear to rivet the iron to the straps. These peculiarities will be seen by the illustration (plate 2, fig. 2) taken from the brass of sir John Creke, in Westley Waterless church, Cambridgeshire, as given in the rev. Charles Boutell's *Monumental Brasses and Slabs*. Mr. Boutell has fixed the date of this brass at *circa* 1325.

Notwithstanding the introduction of the rowel, the pryck-spur was still in use, and is found on the brass of sir John d'Aubernon, in Stoke d'Aubernon church, Surrey ; and again upon the monument of John of Eltham, the second son of Edward II. The spur in the last effigy is of fine form, and richly gilt : it is attached to the leathers by means of a ring ; the buckles and rivets are also richly gilt and highly decorated. The monument of John of Eltham was executed in the year 1334, and is the last presenting the pryck form of spur.

Our next illustration (plate 2, fig. 3) is from Mr. Boutell's *Monumental Brasses of England*. This brass was executed in memory of sir John Hanley and his two wives, Joanna and Alice, and lies in the church at Dartmouth. During the latter half of the fourteenth century the armourers had made great progress in their art, and had, at all points but the joints, succeeded in casing the person of the warrior in a complete suit of plated steel. The foot, of course, came in for its share of the additional defences ; and we now find it entirely covered with large laminated plates, secured by rivets to the leathern sock beneath. The period was fast approaching when plate armour assumed its finest form ; and the rowelled spur, now firmly established, was partaking largely of that art which was bestowed upon the other portions of the knight's accoutrements.

The spur on sir John's brass, still lying on the pavement of the chancel of Dartmouth church, is furnished with a handsome star-shaped rowel; and the strap, instead of passing through the buckle in the front of the foot, is now fastened on the outside. The date of this monument is 1403. In the church at Southacre, Norfolk, there is a brass to the memory of sir John Harsick and lady, which is engraved by Mr. Cotman. The solleret is long, and has a pointed toe similar to that on the well-known effigy of the Black Prince. The spur is like the one at Canterbury, and has a star-shaped rowel of twelve points.

We now enter upon the finest period of plate armour; and the brass of sir Robert del Bothe and lady will afford us an illustration of the solleret which was in use at the time of the execution of the brass, in the year 1460. The foot (see plate 2, fig. 4) figures in a much more elegant form, having the toe more pointed, and the laminated plates so disposed as to add, at the same time, to its protection, beauty, and ease. In this brass the spur-leather, hitherto a conspicuous object, and one upon which much decorative art had been exercised, is made to assume a subordinate part, and is partially covered by the jambe, which falls upon the arms of the spur, and renders the fastenings invisible. It was at this period that the practice of riveting the spur to the heel was commenced; and we constantly find that, when still fastened by a leather, the strap is covered by the armour, and the neck of the spur is passed through an aperture in the heel of the solleret.

The long shoe, both in civil and military costume, now became the rage; and to have a longer and more pointed toe than his neighbour, appears to have been the height of a gentleman's ambition. The commonalty so far entered into this furor, that it was thought necessary to restrain them in the adoption of this inconvenient appendage, by an act of parliament, passed in the third year of the reign of Edward IV (1463-64), by which the use of the pouleine of a greater length than two inches, was forbidden to all under the degree of a lord. Several of these long-toed shoes are now in the possession of Mr. C. R. Smith; and some are figured in his catalogue, to which, however, he assigns an earlier date (Edward III). In a manuscript of Froissart, in the Harleian collection, there is an illumina-

tion representing a knight armed in a fighting suit, with pouleines of great length attached to his sollerets. The figure gives us a good idea of the seat on horseback fashionable in those days. The knee is straight, the point of the pouleines directed towards the ground, and the spur towards the horse's back: the stirrup leather is too long to afford the rider that assistance which the stirrup was designed to give.¹ The knight receives a doubtful assistance from a saddle strongly peaked both before and behind,—a system of horsemanship so dangerous and inconvenient to the man, and oppressive to the horse, as to be thought worthy of imitation by the British cavalry of the present day.

The pouleine, inconvenient enough when worn by the mounted knight, was discarded when he fought on foot, and long-toed sollerets of leather were substituted for those of steel. In a tract entitled "*A Contribution to the Works on the lawful Duels of the Middle Ages*," by Dr. Nathaniel Schlichtegroll, published at Munich in 1817, there are copies of drawings from a manuscript in the library at Gotha, called *The Laws of Lawful Duel*. In these drawings the minutest details are given pictorially; and in one tableau two knights are within a listed space, about to engage on foot. They are accoutred in suits of the period (1460-1480), and have leathern sollerets without spurs. A coffin placed within the lists, awaits the body of the vanquished knight.

About this time the strong line which had hitherto existed between the military men who had received the order of knighthood, and those who had not been so honoured, appears to have been growing fainter; for we now find esquires having brasses dedicated to their memories, on which we see the spur. One of these, in Sculthorpe church, Norfolk, is to the memory of Henry Unton, "gentleman". He was a chirographer of the court of Common Bench, and is represented in a splendid suit of plate armour, having a pair of fine spurs fretted with enormous star-rowels of eight points. The date of this brass is 1470. Again, in Stokesby church, Norfolk, there is a very remarkable brass to the

¹ Vide *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 150, for notice, by Mr. Planché, of spur of this period; and plate 17, with an example from the manuscript of Giles le Bonnier, Berri (misprinted *bevis*) herald to Charles II.

memory of Edmond Clere, esq., and wife. The esquire, who died in 1488, is habited in a noble suit of plate, and to his feet are attached spurs of fine character.

Amongst the latest specimens of the pointed solleret is that shown on the brass in Ketringham church, Norfolk, to the memory of sir Henry Grey and lady (see plate 2, fig. 5). The date of his decease is unknown; but his will, according to Cotman, was made in 1492, and when he was, in all probability, on his deathbed. This, like many other brasses, portrays a costume earlier than the date of the death,—in this case about twenty years; and was probably engraved at the time of his wife's death, which took place twenty-six years before his own. In writing of this brass, sir Samuel Meyrick, in his *Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour*, vol. ii, p. 209, says: "His spurs, too, are very curious, being furnished with a thin piece of steel placed on the neck, which rises over the rowel. This probably bends by pressure, and yet prevents the point of the rowel from penetrating deeply, while at other times it keeps it clear from getting entangled." A singular error for such an acute observer to fall into, as it appears perfectly clear that the line which so misled sir Samuel does not delineate any portion of the armour or accoutrements, but was merely intended, as in the brass in Sotterley church, and many others, as an ornament to relieve the plain surface of the metal.

There is an alto relievo upon the monument raised to the memory of Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, duke of Milan, at the Certosa of Pavia, designed by Galeazzo Pelegrino in 1490, which represents the defeat of German and Florentine forces, in the service of the emperor Rupert, under the walls of Brescia in 1401. In this magnificent work of art we have the most minute details of Italian arms, offensive and defensive, in use at the end of the fifteenth century. A troop of knights, led by one displaying the armorial bearings of the Visconti, is putting to flight a body of horsemen, shown by the lily and the eagle to be Florentine and Austrian. The figures are clad in *cap à pied* fighting suits of similar character, but of form and finish superior to that shown on the celebrated effigy in the Beauchamp chapel, Warwick. The feet are protected by sollerets of chain mail, to which are attached, by means

of straps, spurs of prodigious length. A fine copy of this panel may be seen in the Renaissance Court of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

Plate 1, forming the frontispiece to the present volume, presents to us a very remarkable specimen of the solleret with the pouleine attached, and it is believed to be the finest known example in this country. The length from the point of the spur to the end of the toe is two feet seven inches, and is furnished with eight laminated plates. On the last of these plates is a staple, from which the "pouleine" could be readily detached, and a point of more convenient length substituted as occasion or convenience might require. Intended to fit the foot and ankle, without being fixed to the jambe, it was once provided with a tongue before and behind, which have partially yielded to the ravages of time. The spur, seven inches in length, has a star-shaped rowel of eight points, and is riveted to the heel on the inside.

In the Tower armoury there is a fine example of the solleret, but the total length from the point of the toe to the end of the spur does not exceed two feet. The arsenals at Vienna and the Ambras Collection, furnish some fine examples, forming, as they do, portions of perfect suits; but that in the Musée d'Artillerie at Paris is obviously of recent manufacture, and is attached to a suit formed of a doubtful visored bascinet of the time of Richard II, tuilles and breastplate of that of Richard III, and passe-garde pauldrons of Henry VIII.

To recur to the progress of fashion in the foot, the brass (in the church at Denston, Suffolk) of Hy. Everard, who died in the year 1524, gives us a marked illustration of the rapid change which had taken place after the pointed toe had attained its most exaggerated form (see pl. 2, fig. 6). We have here a rough example of the broad-toed boot which became so common in Germany, and may be seen so often in Burgmayer's works. The fashion running at once to the opposite extreme, compelled the enlargement of the stirrups to admit the passage of the ponderous toe. The spur upon this brass is either screwed or riveted to the heel.

The next illustration (pl. 2, fig. 7) is from a brass in the church of St. John the Baptist, Norwich, to the memory

of John Browne, supposed by Mr. Cotman to have been executed in 1597. The shapeless foot here clearly marks the approaching end of defensive armour, which by the middle of the following century (with the exception of the breastplate and helmet) was generally discontinued in active warfare. The spurs in the brass are small, and being fitted with arms, are screwed to the jambs on both sides of the ancle. By an evident mistake of the artist, the spur appears to be riveted to the front instead of to the rearward half of the jamb, thus preventing the side hinges from having the play necessary to enable the wearer to put them on and off at pleasure. Mr. Cotman also gives the brass (from Felbrigge church, Norfolk) of Thos. Wyndham, esq., who died in 1599. He is habited in the complete suit of the period, large tassets falling over the roomy breeches then in vogue; and in this example the artist appears to have remembered "the caste" to which his subject belonged, and has omitted the spur.

I conclude with the illustration (see pl. 2, fig. 8) from the brass of Robert Alfounder, gentleman, who died in 1639. It is in East Bergholt church, Suffolk, and figured by Cotman. Mr. Alfounder is habited after the fashion of the time of Charles I, and is represented without defensive armour of any kind. This is one of the latest brasses we have, and appears to have been executed by an artist not thoroughly acquainted with his business, as he has represented the spur turned upside down, thus placing the pressure upon the ancle, for the prevention of which the curvature of the arms was originally designed and afterwards preserved.

In a future communication I propose to commence a series of illustrations connected with the fashion of the foot and spur, beginning with the "Pryck Spur."

ON LEPER HOSPITALS OR HOUSES.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT
AND TREASURER.

(Read at the Rochester Congress.)

UPON inquiry into the various objects of interest for the consideration of our Congress in the county of Kent, I learnt that there existed at Rochester and at Chatham the remains of two leper houses. There were also leper hospitals at Boughton, Canterbury, Dover, Dartford, Hithe, Otheford, Romney, and Tannington. The subject is one upon which our information is scanty; and as it presents features of interest, not merely in a medical point of view, but as one of ancient domestic polity, I have thought it not unworthy of the attention of the British Archæological Association.

THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE has been but little attended to either in this or other countries; and in no university, as far as my information extends, is there to be found a chair specially devoted to its consideration. It seems to be looked upon as a matter of secondary importance; and the good which might possibly arise from viewing and reflecting upon the records of the past is lost to us by this obvious negligence. It would, perhaps, be difficult to assign a satisfactory reason for this neglect; for although it be true that the earlier periods present to us much that is fabulous, mysterious, and superstitious, these still form sources whence the experience of the present day might derive assistance, and the advancement of professional knowledge be promoted.

The relief from slavery, effected partly by the influence of the Crusades, and the individual independence consequent thereupon, may reasonably be conjectured to have aided in advancing the progress of medicine. Communication between different countries tended to disseminate the knowledge they possessed, and with the progress of

liberty, arts and sciences advanced. The practice of medicine was pursued by more persons unconnected with the priesthood; and superstition was less generally entertained. It, however, prevailed to a very considerable extent, and was fostered by the prejudices and love of the marvellous so general in the east. The tenth century had been not unjustly styled the golden age of relics and miracles. The astrological doctrines of the east were widely communicated to the west. One circumstance, however, which, it may reasonably be supposed, tended to improve medical science at the time of the Crusades,¹ was the establishment of numerous hospitals, in which the proceedings of the Orientals were imitated. The necessity for the increase of these institutions has been by writers in general attributed to the introduction of the LEPROSY into the west. I find, however, that as early as the eighth century St. Ottomar and St. Nicholas founded hospitals for lepers, the former in Germany, the latter in France.² At the same time they were established in Italy. Pepin, in A.D. 757, and Charlemagne in A.D. 789, regulated by their chapters the marriages of lepers; and the same took place in England, according to the *Decretals* of Gregory (lib. iv, tit. 8). Josephus records the veneration entertained for the leprous, and the civil and other distinctions which were conferred upon them. He says, there are lepers in many nations, who yet are in honour, and not only free from reproach and avoidance, but who have been great captains of armies, and been entrusted with high offices in the commonwealth, and have had the privilege of entering into holy places.³

In 1179, under pope Alexander III, the third general

¹ It was the expeditions of the Franks or Christians of the West, who poured into Palestine to rescue it from the Mahometans, that first caused the establishment of quarantine.

² Dr. Shapter, in his *Observations on the Leprosy of the Middle Ages, proving its Identity with certain Cutaneous Diseases of the Present Day*, has quoted from Theodoret (vol. iv, c. 16) to show that lepers were confined in lazarettos, in a most deplorable condition, as early as the fourth century. Gregory of Tours also makes mention of leper establishments in the sixth century; and Rhetaris, king of the Lombards, is reported to have issued an edict against the leprous as early as A.D. 630.

³ De Antiq. Jud., lib. iii, c. xi, s. 4.

council of Lateran issued a canon (No. XI), *De Leprosis*, in relation to the ecclesiastical separation and rights of the infected, license to have a church, churchyard, etc., to themselves; and Dr. Shapter has drawn my attention to a most remarkable decree of the fifth council of Nôgoral, in 1290, "whereby lepers are exempted from the jurisdiction of secular judges; and, by the same, they are also ordered to wear a distinguishing badge, under forfeiture of five sols.; and in 1303, by the seventeenth of the same council, excommunication is denounced against those who should lay a tax upon such lepers as were shut up for these diseases."

Leprosy was looked upon as a peculiar visitation of the Deity, and the objects of it were regarded with particular veneration, princes and potentates hesitating not to render even menial assistance to those who were afflicted by it. Louis VIII of France specially mentioned the leprous in his will, and made great donations to the hospitals for lepers. In 1226 he issued a code of laws for the regulation of the French leprous hospitals, which at that time were calculated at two thousand ("*deux milles leproseries*"). St. Louis, or Louis IX, is another royal example of attention to the lepers; and Sprengel¹ has referred to Duchesne² and Joinville³ on this subject. Every three months, he tells us, Louis visited the leprous, rendered to them the most abject services, administered with his own hand food for their sustenance, and bathed their afflicted bodies. Henry III, king of England, performed the same services to the lepers every Holy Thursday. Robert I, son of Hugo Capet, introduced the same custom into France in A.D. 1030; and Bruno, archbishop of Toul, afterwards known as pope Leo IX, took under his own immediate care a leper whom he had met with wandering in the streets. He devoted to him his utmost care, and is reported to have even shared with him his bed,—a means, one would think, rather calculated to promote the disorder. The superstitions connected with those who were the subjects of the leprosy tended also to its increase, as well as the prevalence of woollen garments, then so commonly used. We

¹ Histoire de la Médecine, tom. ii, p. 373, Paris edit., 1815.

² Vol. v, p. 402.

³ Hist. de St. Louis, p. 121, Paris, 1668.

are, therefore, not astonished to find that in the thirteenth century France alone had 2,000 establishments for lepers ; and Europe has been said to have had not less than 19,000 similar houses. The error with regard to this number has, however, been shown to have arisen from an incorrect translation of a passage from Matthew Paris by Du Cange.¹ The historian applied the number of 19,000 to the manors and commanderies of the knights hospitallers, under whose protection the lepers were placed, and not to the number of lazaret houses in Christendom. His words are : “ Habent insuper *templarii* in *Christianitate* novem millia maneriarum ; *hospitalarii* verò novemdecim præter emolumenta et varios proventus ex fraternitatibus et prædicationibus provenientes et per privilegia sua acrescentes.” (*Hist. Angl. Major.*, p. 615, edit. 1640.) Du Cange says : “ Dom. Matthæus Paris affirmat suo tempore fuisse leprosarias 1,900 in toto urbe Christiano.” Subsequent writers have substituted 19,000 for 1,900, either being altogether incorrect. The number of establishments for lepers was, however, exceedingly great, and it will not, therefore, occasion surprise to learn that vast riches were accumulated in these hospitals, and that they should have excited the cupidity of sovereigns. Philip V of France artfully accused the inmates of fostering a revolt against France, by the Turks and Jews, burnt their houses, and confiscated their property ;² and he accused (letter from Crecy, Aug. 16, 1321) the lepers of being bribed to poison the wells and waters used by the Christians.³ Charles VI of France renewed this persecution in 1388.

The lepers were specially under the protection of the knights hospitallers of the order of St. Lazare of Jerusalem. It is not quite clear whether this order was under the rule of St. Augustin, St. Benedict, or St. Basil. It was a military order ; and it is certain that St. Basil built a large hospital at Cesaræa, as early as the fourth century, chiefly for the reception of leprous people ; as Gregory Nazianzen, who describes its magnificence, and compares it to a city,

¹ Glossarium Script. Med. et Inf., Lat., *sub voce* “leprosaria”.

² Mézeray, Histoire de France, ii, 71, who connects leprosy and usury together, as the two most cruel evils of France ; the one affecting the bodies, the other ruining families. (P. 168.)

³ Ordonnances des Roys de France, tom. i, p. 814.

speaks particularly of the great number of these afflicted persons, who were interdicted all communication with their fellow men, shut out from all intercourse with the world, and at that time looked upon rather with horror than pity. Theodoret records the great care taken by St. Basil of these poor people; and the emperor Valens gave to them land for the building of their habitations.

It is not a little curious that, according to Helyot,¹ leprous persons were received into the order of St. Lazare, and that the knights were unable to elect a grand-master unless he was a leper of the hospital of Jerusalem. This practice continued until the time of Innocent IV (circa A.D. 1253), when, being unable to find a leprous knight upon whom this distinction could be conferred, they were under the necessity of addressing the pope on the subject, the infidels having slain all the leprous knights of the hospital of Jerusalem; they therefore prayed the pope to permit them to elect a grand-master not affected with the leprosy, and the pontiff sent to them the bishop of Frescati to examine into the matter, and see that it could be effected according to God ("selon Dieu"). Subsequent popes assured to the order their protection, and enlarged their privileges. St. Louis in particular, as already stated, loaded them with benefits, confirmed the donations of his royal predecessors, and gave to them various houses, etc. The chief of the order now established himself at Boigny, near Orleans, which had been given to them by Louis VII; and the grand-master assumed the title of grand-master of the order of St. Lazare, under an extended dominion. Cases of leprosy, however, became rare, and the necessity for the institution declined so greatly that Innocent VIII suppressed the order, and united the members and their property with that of St. John of Jerusalem by a bull bearing date A.D. 1490. But this measure met with opposition in France, and legal proceedings of various kinds were instituted; and it was not until 1547 that the parliament of Paris declared in favour of the measure, and of the grand-master of the order of St. Lazare.

From the ninth to the sixteenth century numerous hos-

¹ *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires.* Paris, 1714 4to.

pitals were established in various parts of Europe, expressly for the treatment of the leprous; but I am not aware of any scientific results emanating from them: indeed, we are left in no little obscurity with respect to the character of the leprous disease. It is probable that various cutaneous diseases obtained admission into these hospitals.¹ Of lepra there are various kinds; but as it would be out of place to make this a medical essay, I forbear entering minutely into their several characteristics or distinctions; yet my paper would be too imperfect were I not to occupy your attention for a few minutes in relation to the disease as existing among the Arabs, the Greeks, and other peoples. We might presume that the Arabian disease was infectious or contagious, from the establishment of hospitals for the separate reception of cases; and the researches of Willan, Adams, Bateman, Good, and other authorities, mark its agreement with the affection known as elephantiasis, from the appearance it presents; yet this disease, which is now occasionally seen in Madeira, the West India islands, and some other places, is not regarded as infectious: on the contrary, the subjects of its attack associate unreservedly with the other inhabitants, and it is not communicated.

The leprosy of the Arabians must be understood to be what is now known as the tubercular leprosy of the Greeks. One of the peculiar characteristics of this disease consists of an alteration of the personal appearance of those affected with it, and more particularly of their countenance, the disfiguration of which is described as most remarkable (*"visu foedus et in omnibus terribilis."* *Areteus*), making it to appear rather like that of a wild beast than a human being: hence have arisen the terms "satyriasis" and "leontiasis", as applied to the disease by some writers, and rendering necessary the seclusion of the lepers from society. Medical writers of the middle ages, however, are those to whom we must refer in our present consideration; and

¹ Dr. Horst, inspector of the lazarettos at Ulm, remarks that the inmates were not confined to cases of leprosy of the Greeks, but extended to that which corresponds in its symptoms and character with what is known as elephantiasis. Other cutaneous affections were admitted. The same has been reported at Alcmarr and at Delft, by M. Forcett (*Observ. Chirurg.* iv, 7). Riedlin says the same of Vienna (*Linææ Med.* iii, an. 1797). See also Rayer, *Traité des Maladies de la Peau*, tom. i.

Dr. Simpson has enumerated the monk Theodoric, Arnold Bachuone, Lanfranc, and Gilbert, of the thirteenth century ; Bernhard Gordon, Guy de Chauliac, Vitalis de Furno, and Petrus de Argelata, of the fourteenth ; Montagna, Ferrari de Gradi, Ambrose Paré, Fernelius, Hildanus, etc., of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I have examined most of these and other writers, and I agree entirely with Dr. Simpson, who has entered at large into the nosological part of the subject, and clearly proved that the leprosy of the middle ages was the same as the elephantiasis of the Greeks. It is, I conceive, impossible for any one to read the account given by the principal medical writers of the middle ages, without coming to this conclusion. Nothing can exceed the confusion which has existed in relation to the subject of lepra. A more exact nosography has not even succeeded in completely dissipating the mystery in which the subject is involved. The picture of lepra drawn by the ancients, is repulsive in the extreme. The alteration which the skin undergoes is most extraordinary : it is thickened, scaly, hardened, and coarse as the larger of known quadrupeds : it is hard, dry, rugged, and like to the bark of trees of great magnitude. All parts of the frame, from the skin to the bones, become successively the objects of its attack, until the members drop off from the parent body ; muscles, tendons, ligaments, cartilages, and bones, all succumbing to its malignant virulence. Such we may consider to have been the case in this disease, according to the most ancient authorities, and we can therefore scarcely wonder at the horror entertained in regard to those who unfortunately became the subjects of its virulence. So formidable was its character that the disease was looked upon as a mark of anger from on high : to horror succeeded pity, and the objects at length came to be viewed with feelings of veneration. Bernhard Gordon¹ and Guy de Chauliac² are particularly referred to for their description of the disease. They give the three stages : 1, the occult, or premonitory signs ; 2, the infallible signs ; and 3, the signs of the last stage, and fatal appearances of the disease. The disfigurement of the features and distor-

¹ Opera Medica, pp. 48, 49. Lugd., 1542.

² Chirurgiæ, lib. vii, p. 307 et seq. Lugd., 1572.

tion of the face, were held to constitute the infallible test, without which no one was considered justly devoted to incarceration.

One of the ablest descriptions of the Greek elephantiasis, or the leprosy of the Arabians, is to be met with in the work of an Englishman named Gilbert, who flourished in the thirteenth century, whose work, entitled *Compendium Medicinæ*, is known as the first English medical work put to the press. He describes four species of lepra, under the denomination of *elephantia*, *leonina*, *tyria*, and *alopecia*. "Elephantia", from the similarity of the appearance of the skin to that of the animal the elephant; "leonina", from the ferocious and lion-like aspect of the sufferers; "tyria", from the serpent Tyrus; and "alopecia", from the hairs falling off like those of a fox.

John of Gaddesden is another English writer on this disease. He was physician to Edward II, and professor of medicine in the university of Oxford. In his work, called *Rosa Anglica*, he lays great stress upon the corruption of the figure in cases of leprosy, and asserts that, until the figure and form of the face is actually changed, no one should be adjudged to be a leper, and prohibited from intercourse with mankind.

Glanville is the only other English writer whom it is necessary to mention. He is well known by his work, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, and his description accords with the preceding authorities, from which we may assume that the leprosy of the middle ages was identical with that of the Arabians, or the elephantiasis of the Greeks.

Elephantiasis is generally considered to have first appeared in Egypt, then in Syria, and afterwards in Greece. Lucretius speaks of it as endemic in Egypt:

"Est elephas morbus, qui propter flumina Nili
Gignitur Ægypto in mediâ, neque præterea usquam."¹

"High up the Nile, and Egypt's central plains,
Springs the black leprosy, and there alone."²

By the soldiers of Pompey's army it was reported to have been brought from Syria to Italy. It spread over Europe with frightful rapidity at the time of the Crusades: it ap-

¹ De Rerum Natura, vi, 1112.

² Good's Translation.

peared as an epidemic, and extended as far as the Feroe islands.¹ This caused the large number of leprosy houses. The disease was looked upon as identical with the Jewish leprosy, and regarded as contagious. Towards the seventeenth century it began to disappear from Europe, and now is of the greatest rarity.

A variety of diseases have been confounded under the general denomination of leprosy. To Dr. Willan we are first indebted for attempts to clear away the confusion which attached to the subject. Elephantiasis is clearly a distinct affection, and totally dissimilar to leprosy, whose nature is essentially squamous, as the origin of its term implies, from *λεπρίς*, a scale. The leprosy of the present day, and the disease described by the Greek physicians, is not infectious. It affects both sexes, various ages, and in different ranks of society, and does not appear to take its rise from any uncleanness. Its transmission, or predisposition to transmission, hereditarily, may have given rise to the idea of its being contagious, and, consequently, to the demand of buildings for the exclusive appropriation of the cases.

Climate does not appear to originate this disease, as it is found to have been as common in hot as in cold regions, and in both of the extremes to prevail the most; we must therefore look to the manners and habits of the people affected by it. Diet and poor living are, doubtless, attendants on this form of misery; and it is probable that the influence of climate modifies or regulates, in some degree, its peculiar characteristics.

The black leprosy (the *juzam*) of the Arabs is the elephantiasis. The tuberculous leprosy of the medical writers of the middle ages is the elephantiasis.

The elephantiasis of the moderns is the *das-fil* (elephant disease) of the Arabians. It is the Barbadoes, or the Cochin Leg of modern pathologists.

During the dark ages, the knowledge of Greek was almost entirely lost, and upon the revival of learning we were chiefly indebted to Arabic translations of the Greek writers for information of their labours, and these were received principally through the medium of Latin versions.

¹ It was also common in Norway and Iceland (see Van Troill's *Letters on Iceland*). It was known as leprosy in the Zetland Islands a little more than a century ago, and many died in miserable huts erected for their habitations.

In this way, lepra became substituted for elephantiasis, a disease essentially different, as being scarcely to be regarded of a squamous character. The introduction and free employment of linen, greater habits of cleanliness, and the other advantages and improvements, the result of more advanced civilization, have done much towards the extermination of the disease: in its most virulent forms it is now certainly unknown. Dr. Simpson considers that tubercular leprosy is now not to be found as a native endemic disease on any part of the continent of Europe. This is very remarkable, considering the former universality of it in almost every district of the continent. The disease in Scotland, though appearing later than in England (not being known there until the middle of the twelfth century), and remaining there after its almost total disappearance in the latter, has been shown to be one and the same disease, and in its nature to have the same relation to the tubercular leprosy of the Greeks. It was to be seen in the Shetland Islands long after it had disappeared from the southern parts of the British islands, and continued there until the middle of the last century. Dr. Simpson has traced the existence of the disease in Scotland to have been very considerable, particularly so when it is considered that, in the middle ages, this kingdom was one of the most remote and thinly populated principalities in Christendom. He has carefully examined the old Scottish records, and has been able to hand down to us notices of eleven houses in Berwickshire, Lauderdale, Ayrshire, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Elgin, and Shetland. The leper houses of Scotland appear to have been supported rather by voluntary alms than by any regular endowment, as in those of England.

Although the poorer and lower classes of society, in the middle ages, were mostly the subjects of the disease, many of high rank also became its victims: it spared not even the royal races. Robert Bruce, in Scotland, is an indubitable example. Baldwin IV, king of Jerusalem, according to Fuller, was leprous. He says: "The king" (1174) was "enclined to the leprosie called elephantiasis, noysome to the patient, but not infectious to the company." The kingdom, he says, was as sick as the king, "he of a leprosie, that of an incurable consumption" (cap. 38). Bald-

win, however, conquered Saladin ; but upon the return of the latter to the Holy Land was unable to meet him. Fuller says : " As for king Baldwine, the leprosie had arrested him prisoner, and kept him at home. Long had this king's spirit endured this infirmitie, swallowing many a bitter pang with a smiling face, and going upright, with patient shoulders, under the weight of his disease. It made him put all his might to it, because, when he yielded to his sicknesse, he must leave off the managing of the state ; and he was loth to put off his royall robes before he went to bed, a crown being too good a companion for one to part with willingly. But at last he was made to stoop, and retired himself to a private life, appointing Baldwine his nephew his successor. He died in 1185, being only twenty-five years of age."¹

Evidence is rather in favour of than against the existence of the disease in our own Henry IV. Leland (*Collect.*, ii, 314) expressly says, " rex Henricus lepra percussus." Historians, however, differ upon the point, though John Hardyng, who was contemporary with the sovereign, gives countenance to it in his *Rhyming Chronicle*, chap. ccx : " The wordes that the kynge sayde at hys deathe, of hyghe complaynt", etc.,—

" Lorde, I thanke the with all my herte,
 With all my soule and my spirytes clere,
 This wormes mete, this caryon full² unquerte,
 That some tyme thought in worlde it had no pere,
 This face so foule, that leprous doth apere,
 That here afore I haue had such a pryde
 To purtraye ofte in many place full wyde."³

Several persons of high position in society certainly had the disease, and some of these established hospitals for lepers. Males rather than females seem to have been attacked with it, although it was not confined to one sex, as is shown by the establishment of St. James' hospital, and others, expressly for females, and these also of early years.

The institution of houses for lepers was evidently framed on the idea of infection, and the necessity which therefore existed of separating the diseased from the healthy. This

¹ Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre*, cap. 42, ed. 1640.

² Chronicle of John Hardyng, Ellis's edit. Lond., 1812, p. 370.

³ Foule.

appears to have been founded upon the authority of Scripture, for in Numbers (v, 2, 3,) we find that the Lord spake unto Moses, saying: "Command the children of Israel, that they put out of the camp every leper"; "Both male and female shall ye put out, without the camp shall ye put them; that they defile not their camps, in the midst whereof I dwell." (See also Levit. xiii, 46.) The leprous at Samaria were ordered to abide without the city. The Persians expelled the leprous from their cities the instant any appearance of the disease exhibited itself. The promoters of establishments for the reception of particular diseases have evidently gone upon the erroneous supposition that malignant and pestilential disorders must of necessity be contagious, and with very doubtful propriety have congregated persons labouring under them together, rather with the view of excluding their operation from society at large than aiming at the destruction of the principle upon which their existence depends.

It would be not a little interesting to trace and contemplate the condition of society in which regulations have been made for the suppression or counteraction of foreign contagions which have ever entered into the code of laws of several European nations; it would enable us the better to understand their reasonableness or their usefulness, and would probably display rather the influence of fanaticism and terror than the development of any sound principles of science directing their operation. The first lazarettos were established upon islands at some distance from Venice about 1485. The detention was for forty days, whence the word QUARANTINE is derived.

The number of leper houses in England was considerable. There was scarcely a county without an establishment of this kind, and in many there were several.¹ LONDON had in reality only two hospitals for lepers, but

¹ I have been able to trace one hundred and twenty-four of these establishments in thirty-five different counties. Of these, I had prepared a table, principally derived from the works of Tanner and Dugdale, when I met with Dr. Simpson's admirable paper, read before the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh,—a paper containing much valuable information relating to leprosy and leper houses in Scotland and England. My additions to Dr. Simpson's collections are too insignificant to induce me to print my table, and I content myself therefore by referring my readers to the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, vols. 56 and 57, for the valuable information he has communicated upon this subject.

there were others in the neighbourhood. The two hospitals of St. James and St. Giles, it will be remarked, were both placed in what was then denominated the fields, and first require our notice.

The leper house or hospital of St. James in the Fields occupied the site of the present Palace of St. James :

“ Her poor to palaces Britannia brings ;
St. James’ hospital may serve for kings.”

This hospital was founded by the citizens of London for fourteen leprous girls, “ quatuordecim leprosis puellis.” The date of its foundation is unknown. Tanner¹ says, “ At a distance from the city, in the fields near Westminster, some well disposed citizens of London beyond the memory of man, and (as some think) long before the conquest, founded an hospital for the reception and maintenance of fourteen leprous women, to whom were afterwards added eight brethren to minister Divine service.” It was in operation in A.D. 1100, and visited at that time by Gislebert, abbot of St. Peter’s, Westminster. The citizens endowed the hospital with land adjoining, and others to the amount of £56 per annum, upon which eight brethren were added to the establishment to celebrate the offices of religion. This produced more benefactions, and Edward I, granted a fair to be holden for seven days in aid of it. The fair was to commence on the eve of the Festival of their patron saint. The house was rebuilt in the time of Henry III. The abbot of Westminster claimed jurisdiction over it, but it was governed by a master. Henry VI granted the custody of it to Eton College, in which it continued until its dissolution in the 23rd of Henry VIII, at which time it was valued at £100 per annum, and given in exchange for Chattisham, etc., in Suffolk.

Stow² quotes a decree passed at a provincial synod held at Westminster by Herbert, archbishop of Canterbury in A.D. 1200, (2nd John) according to the Lateran Council. “ That when so many leprous people were assembled, that might be able to build a church, with a churchyard to themselves, and to have one especial priest of their own,

¹ Notitia Monastica, xii, Middx. No. 3.

² Survey of London and Westminster, edited by Strype, 2 vols., fol. London, 1755, vol. ii, p. 690.

they should be permitted to have the same without contradiction; so that they are not injurious to the old churches, by that which was granted to them by pity's sake." It was further decreed that they should not be compelled to give any tithes of their gardens, or increase of cattle. Stow also makes allusion to a writ in our law, *de leproso amovendo*, which was an ancient writ that lay to remove a leper, or lazarus, who thrust himself into the company of his neighbours, in any parish, either in the church, or at the public meetings, to their annoyance; and he also tells us that Edward III, in the twentieth year of his reign, gave commandment to the mayor and sheriffs of London to make proclamation in every ward of the city and suburbs, "that all leprous persons inhabiting there, should avoid within fifteen days next; and that no man suffer any such leprous person to abide within his house, and to incur the king's further displeasure. And that they should cause the said lepers to be removed into some out-places of the fields, from the haunt or company of sound people."

Stow records that John Gardener, porter of the postern by the Tower, took oath before the mayor and recorder of London, on Monday, after the feast of St. Bartholomew, the 49th Edw. III, "That the gates and postern be well and faithfully kept in his office and baylywicke, and that he should not suffer any lepers or leper to enter the city, or to remain in the suburbs; and if any leper or lepers force themselves to enter by his gates, or postern, he is to bind them fast to horses, and send them to be examined by the superiors, etc." Stow suggests that this may account for the building of certain lazarus houses without the city; and he enumerates as of this description the Lock without Southwark in Kent street; another betwixt Mile End and Stratford Bow; another at Kingsland, betwixt Shoreditch and Stoke Newington; and another at Knightsbridge, west of Charing Cross. These must be considered as additional to those of St. James and St. Giles, already alluded to. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, (xi. 635,) we find perhaps the first instance of a regular medical certificate¹ on record. It is in relation to the examination of a suspected case of leprosy in one Joanna Nightyngale, of Brentwood in Essex. This occurred in the reign of Edward IV, (1468)

¹ *Medicorum Regis, super Morbo Lepre, Certificatio.* Nov. 1, 1468.

and exemplifies the great caution observed at this period in regard to lepers, and their positive exclusion from others not so diseased. The woman in this case was declared by William Hatteclyff, Roger Marshall, and Dominicus de Serego, "Doctors of Arts and Medicine, and Physicians to the king, sworn to watch over the health of his majesty", not to be a leper.

The hospital of St. Giles' in the Fields was founded by Matilda, wife of Henry I, according to Mr. Parton in his account of St. Giles in the year 1101. Stow, however, gives 1117 as the date, and the Cottonian MS., Nero C. V. A.D. 1118. It was founded for the reception of forty lepers, also a chaplain, a clerk, and a messenger. It was afterwards increased, to admit a certain number of matrons or sisters, and several other officers, as its revenues increased. It was at first supported (with the exception of the endowment mentioned) by voluntary contributions, which were so freely given, that the hospital secured rents in St. Giles, at Isleworth, St. Clement Danes, and other London parishes, and of the rectory and church of Feltham in Middlesex.¹

The endowment of Matilda amounted to £3, which was a rent charge on Queenhithe. The foundation was confirmed by Henry II, and £3 per annum was added from the exchequer to furnish the lepers with clothing, and 30s. per annum settled on possessions in Surrey for the purchase of tapers. Edward III, in A.D. 1354 annexed it as a cell to the master and brethren of Burton Lazar of Jerusalem in Leicestershire, for leprous persons. Upon the order of Edward III, that all persons afflicted with leprosy should quit the city of London, the mayor applied to the keeper of St. Giles's hospital to receive fourteen citizens who had the disorder. Richard II and Henry IV. both confirmed the charters of the hospital. Henry V confined its custody again to Burton Lazars, as did also Henry VI, and it thus remained until its dissolution, 36 Henry VIII (1539). Mr. Parton has given the history of the house, which was granted to lord Lisle, and by him converted into a residence for himself; it afterwards passed to John Wymonde Carew, esq. The hospital had a common seal, and an impression

¹ "Hæc autem regina beatissima, apud urbem Londoniarum domum ædificavit leprosorum, cum oratorio et ædificio competenti, quod usque hodie hospitale Matildis nuncupatur."—Paris, *Hist. Ang. Major.*, ii, 67; ed. 1640.

² Dugdale, *Monast.*, vi, 636.

of it is in the Augmentation office, and described by Dugdale.¹ The register of charters of this hospital may be found in the Harleian collection of MSS. in the British Museum. The garden belonging to the hospital of St. Giles is presumed to have been situated between St. Giles High street, the Pound, and Hog lane, now Crown street; and Maitland thinks it stood near to the west end of the present church. Matilda, the founder of the hospital of St. Giles seems to have peculiarly devoted herself to the leprous, and to have treated them with marks of veneration. Matthew Paris relates a singular anecdote illustrative of her conduct in regard to the lepers. He tells us that in 1105 David of Scotland, brother to the queen Matilda, came to visit his sister in England, and that being invited one evening to her chamber, he found it filled with lepers; and the queen standing in the midst of them, having laid aside her cloak, and girded herself with a towel, was engaged in washing their feet, wiping them with the towel, and then embracing them with both her hands, kissed them with the utmost devotion. Her brother, surprised at this conduct, inquired of her, "What is this which you are doing, my lady? truly, if the king knew this, he would never kiss with his lips your mouth thus contaminated by the pollution of the lepers' feet. To which she smiling, replied; "Who knows not that the feet of an Eternal King are to be preferred to the lips of an earthly king? Behold, it was for this that I invited you, most dear brother, that you might learn by my example to perform similar actions. I beseech you, do that which you see me doing." David, however, was not disposed to adopt his sister's suggestion, he therefore declined; she persevered in her employment, and he with a smile withdrew.²

¹ Monast. vi, 635.

² "Eodem tempore (1105) David, frater reginæ Anglorum Matildis, venit in Angliam, ut sororem suam visitaret. Qui cum nocte quadam in thalamum ejus ab ipsa vocatus venisset, domum invenit leprosis plenam; et regina in media stans, deposito pallio, linteos se utrisque manibus præcinxit, et aqua imposita, coepit lavare pedes eorum, et extergere linteis, et utrisque manibus constrictos, coepit devotissimè osculari. Cui frater: Quid est quod agis? ô domina mea! Certè si rex sciret ista, nunquam dignaretur os tuum, leprosum pedum tibi pollutum, suis labiis osculari. Et illa subridens ait: "Pedes Regis æterni, quis nescit labiis regis morituri esse præferendo? Ecce, ego idcirco vocavi te fratre charissime, ut exemplo meo talia discas operari: fac rogo quod me facere intueris. Cui cum frater respondisset, se nullo modo talia facturum, illa coeptis insistente, David subridens remeavit."—Paris, *Hist. Angl. Major.*, ii, 61: ed. 1640.

Before I proceed to speak of the leper houses of Kent, I will say a few words in regard to the regulations directed for the lepers, and the rigour of their seclusion, which varied considerably in different localities, and at different times. The rules of St. Julian's hospital near St. Alban's, and of St. Mary Magdalen of Exeter, made known to us by Matthew Paris, Dugdale, and others, offer to us evidence of the stringency with which the seclusion of the lepers was enforced, but in no case did they apply with such severity as in Scotland. In the Greenside hospital at Edinburgh they were not permitted to quit the house under penalty of death, and a gibbet was actually erected in front of the hospital to show that the punishment was not to be regarded as an idle threat. Such strict seclusion, however, did not operate in all cases, for in some places the leprous were permitted to wander about, and had permission to receive alms from the benevolent. They however were furnished in their peregrinations with rattles and clappers¹ to make a noise and give warning of their approach, and they also carried with them cups or small baskets, into which without fear of contact the alms could be placed. This practice is alluded to in the celebrated Scoto-Saxon metrical romance of sir Tristrem, of the thirteenth century, edited by sir Walter Scott, bart. Sir Tristrem, in his progress through Cornwall, disguises himself as a leper or mesel, and is thus described :

“Ganhardin gan fare,
 Into Bretaine oway;
 And Tristrem duelled thare,
 To wite what men wald say;
 Coppe and claper he bare,
 Til the fiftenday;
 As he a mesel² ware;
 Under walles he lay
 To lithe.”³

Dr. Simpson has furnished us with another illustration, by Henrysone, a schoolmaster at Dumfermline, the author

¹ Muratori (*Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, tom. i, p. 908) in his sixteenth dissertation, among other matters relating to the leprous, writes: “Quod si miseri panem mendicare cogeantur, mos fuit non accedere ad sanos, sed strepitu cujusdam ligni suæ necessitatis conscios facere longo positus. Proinde auctor Mamotrecti commemorat instrumentum ligneum cum duabus vel tribus tabellis, quas *concutiis leprosus querendo panem.*”

² Leper.

³ Fytte iii, st. lxxx.

of "The Testament of Cresseide", a MS. belonging to the sixteenth century, written as a sequel to the *Troilus and Cresseid* of Chaucer, imprinted at Edinburgh 1593, and reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, Edinb. 1824. The fair paramour of *Troilus* is afflicted with the leprosy as a punishment for her inconstancy, and Saturn pronounces the sentence passed on her in the following terms, which accurately characterise the symptoms of the disease :

"Thy cristall ene minglit with blud I mak,
 Thy voice sa cleir, unpleasand, hoir, and hace,
 Thy lustie lyre (fair skin) ouirspread with spottis blak,
 And lumpis haw (livid) appeairand in thy face ;
 Quhair thow cummis ilk man sall flee the place ;
 Thus sall thow go begging fra hous to hous
 With cop and clapper like ane Lazarous."

Conveyed by her father to the receptacle, she is thus described ;

"Whan in a mantel and a bevir hat,
 With coppe and clappir, wonder privily,
 He opened a secret gate, and out thereat
 Conveyed her, that no man should espie ;
 There to a village, half a mile therebie,
 Delivered her in at the spittell hous,
 And daily sent her part of his almous."

A leper endeavours to console *Cresseide* for her misfortune, and invites her to

"Go, lerne to clappe thy clappir to and fro,
 And lerne aftir the lawe of leper's lede."

The cup is also alluded to in the following, when, begging, she meets with *Troilus* returned from a victorious skirmish with the Greeks :

"Seeing that companie come, with o steven,¹
 Thei gave a crie, and shoke cuppis, Gode spede
 Worthie lords ! for Goddis love in heaven,
 To us lepirs part of your almon dede !"

Sir Walter Scott says there are still in Italy a class of beggars who use the cup and clapper. The obligation of employing clappers by lepers at large was particularly enforced in Scotland ; it does not appear to have been so general in England.

¹ One hour, or time—at once.

It is not surprising that as lepers were subject to perpetual seclusion from society, they should be deprived of all rights under the civil law ; they were, in short, by the laws of England looked upon as virtually dead—as legally and politically defunct, and devoid of all rights of citizenship. They were classed with idiots and lunatics, and could not succeed to property. Those under the ancient writ *de leproso amovendo* could not, according to lord Coke's Institutes, be a guardian in socage. In Lombardy the leper upon his seclusion was unable to will away or alienate his property, he was regarded as dead, *tanquam mortuus habetur*. The same was held in force in Normandy and other countries.

But not only was the leper deprived of his civil rights, he also sustained the rigour of the church. Dr. Simpson has referred to the writings of Ogée in the *Dict. Hist. et Geogr. de Bretagne*, and Pluquet, *Essai sur la Ville de Bayeux*, to show that the church also regarded the leper as defunct, and performed the solemn ceremonies of the burial of the dead over him, on the day on which he was separated from his fellow-creatures, and consigned to a leper house ; that he was from that moment regarded as a man dead amongst the living, and legally buried, though still breathing and alive. The ritual of the French church retained till a late period the various forms and ceremonies to which the leper was subjected on this day of his living funeral. The authority I have quoted further details, that “ a priest robed with surplice and stole went with the cross to the house of the doomed leper. The minister of the church began the necessary ceremonies by exhorting him to suffer with a patient and penitent spirit, the incurable plague with which God had stricken him. He then sprinkled the unfortunate leper with holy water, and afterwards conducted him to the church, the usual burial verses being sung during their march thither. In the church the ordinary habiliments of the leper were removed ; he was clothed in a funeral pall, and while placed before the altar between two trestles, the *Libera* was sung, and the mass for the dead celebrated over him. After this service, he was again sprinkled with holy water, and led from the church to the house or hospital destined for his future abode. A pair of clappers, a barell, a stick, a cowl, and dress, etc.,

were given to him. Before leaving the leper, the priest solemnly interdicted him from appearing in public without his leper's garb; from entering inns, churches, mills, and bakehouses; from touching children, or giving them aught he had touched; from washing his hands or anything pertaining to him in the common fountains and streams; from touching in the markets the goods he wished to buy with anything except his stick; from eating or drinking with any others than lepers; and he specially forbade him from walking in narrow paths, or from answering those who spoke to him in the roads or streets, unless in a whisper, that they might not be annoyed with his pestilent breath, and with the infectious odour which exhaled from his body; and last of all, before taking his departure, and leaving the leper for ever to the seclusion of the leper house, the official of the church terminated the ceremony by throwing upon the body of the poor outcast a shovelful of earth, in imitation of the closure of the grave."¹

But to direct your attention more particularly to the leper hospitals of the county of Kent. The leper house at ROCHESTER is now known as St. Catherine's Hospital, and owes its foundation in 1316 to one Simon Potyn, who represented the city of Rochester in seven successive parliaments, during the reigns of Edward I. and II. It was established to receive both male and female inmates suffering with leprosy, and they were ordained to live under the government of a prior, and "subject to the correction special of the vicary of St. Nicholas of Rochester, and the heyres of the founder." Among the orders established for its rule was one that no inmate should be "oute of the Spittel after the sonne goinge doune", unless it be for the "profite of the priour"; neither were they "to haunte the taverne, to go to ale; but when theie have talent or desire to drynke, theie shall bye theare drynke, and brynge it to the spittel; so that none of them be debator, baretor, dronkelew, nor rybawde of his tongue, nor of other misrule or evell governaunce." The present hospital was erected in 1717; it contains twelve apartments occupied by poor people who receive certain allowances arising from the proceeds from the original endowments and other donations bequeathed by benevolent persons, which, accord-

¹ Edinb. Med. and Surg. Journal, 57, 426.

ing to Tanner, subsequent to the dissolution, which the hospital escaped, had been augmented to the yearly value of £500.

The leper hospital at CHATHAM, situated on the south side of the High-street, was established by bishop Gundulph, and was built in the year 1078. It was consequently prior to the emigration of Englishmen for the Crusades. The buildings of the hospital, according to Tanner, stood partly in the parish of St. Margaret and partly in the parish of Chatham. Speed, who states it to have been erected in the time of William Rufus, and dedicated to St. Bartholomew, makes two distinct hospitals of it, which does not appear to be correct. Like to that of Rochester, the leper hospital of Chatham admitted both sexes. The means of this hospital were scanty, the endowments small, and, although aided by various donations, its income was scarcely sufficient to support the inmates, who therefore received assistance in the form of provisions from the priory of Rochester. It is worthy of remark, that the oblations made at the altars of St. James and St. Giles in the cathedral were appropriated to the lepers, and they were likewise permitted to receive alms from those who had the honour of dining at the archbishop's table on the day of his installation, and received as their perquisite on this occasion the cloth which covered the dining table. Although thus, as it were, dependant in a measure upon eleemosynary aid from the monks of St. Andrew, they nevertheless constituted a distinct corporate body, had a common seal, and executed various deeds in their corporate capacity. It is said that at the time of the dissolution their annual revenues did not amount to more than £13, yet they escaped suppression, and during the reign of Elizabeth several attempts were made to deprive them of their estates. From Strype's *Annals* (vol. ii, part II, p. 272). Oxford edit., 1824, we learn that bishop Young addressed a letter to the lord-chancellor Burleigh in the year 1579, in consequence of a suit commenced in the Court of Exchequer against the hospital for concealment. There was no just foundation for this suit, the value of the hospital's possessions having been certified in the Augmentation office, and the bishop has the merit of having succeeded in arresting the progress of an act of injustice intended towards this charity. Strype gives the following statement :—

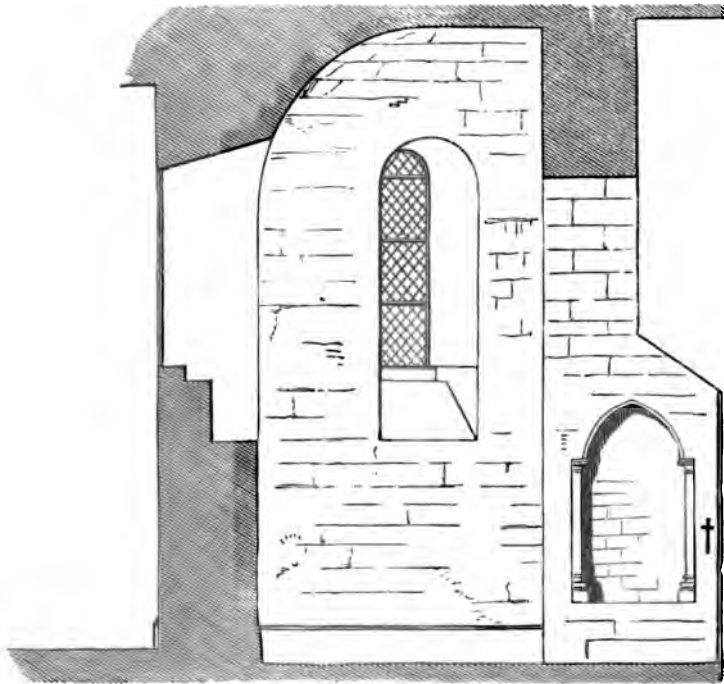
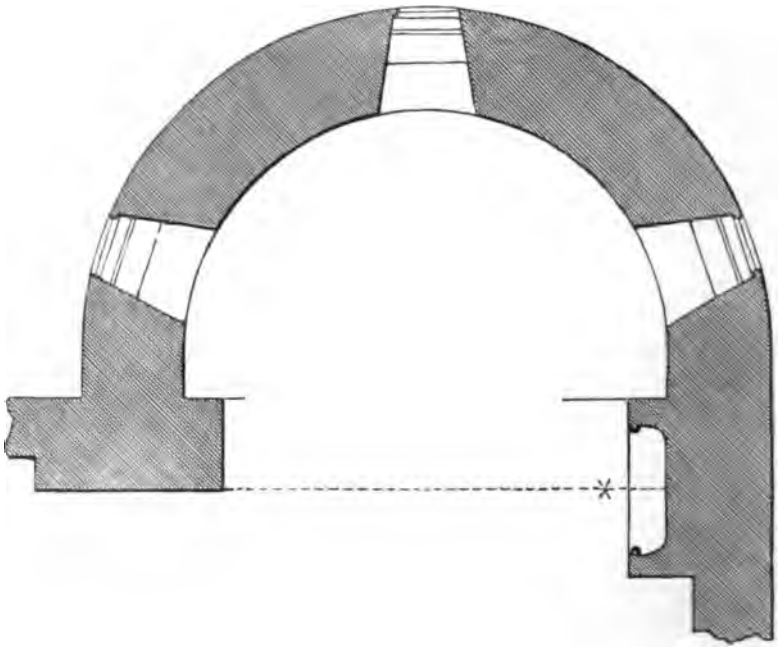
"John Young, master of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, and bishop of Rochester, now worthily concerned in a matter of charity, solicited in behalf of Chatham hospital, within his diocese, against some *concealers*, as they were called, endeavouring to swallow up some revenues belonging to that house, upon the pretence of *concealment*. And the matter being brought into the exchequer, the good bishop betakes himself to the lord treasurer (the common patron of the bishops, and all others in distress), in a letter dated in October, importing, 'That he was advised by some of his church of Rochester, that there was a suit in the exchequer attempted against the poor hospital of Chatham, in his diocese, to the utter spoil and undoing of certain poor lazars, and other poor aged and impotent persons, there resiant at this present; and not only of them, but of a great number of other such like, as might stand in need of the like relief in that place in time to come.' He added: 'That he could not, but in most humble wise, by these few lines, crave his honour's good favour towards the said poor people and hospital; whereby that extremity which was meant towards them might be avoided, and the good relieve towards that poor, miserable people which were then there, and which might be hereafter (as it was at the beginning well meant), continued. The bishop had heard that the said poor hospital had been heretofore eftsoons assailed; but, as he tells that lord, notwithstanding, hitherto, by the bishops of this see, and the dean and chapter, who (as his honour should be made privy) had great evidence to show for the said hospital, it had been preserved. And that their assured trust was, that his good lordship, according to his accustomed goodness towards all such erections and foundations, would stand good lord, so far forth as justice would permit, to the same poor people and to them; so should they of the hospital, and themselves (of that said church), both think themselves bound to pray unto God continually for the continuance of his lordship's good estate.'

"Dated from Bromlie, the 20th of October.

"Subscribing, 'his honour's most humbly to command,

" 'JOHN ROFFENS.' "

A renewal, however, of these proceedings took place in the reign of James I; and this monarch made a grant of the estates, which, by this time (arising chiefly from the progress of naval establishments), had much increased in value, to different persons, under the nomination of James viscount Doncaster. The *Registrum Roffense* records the contesting of this grant by the successive deans of Rochester, who laid claim to the patronage of the hospital; and by an arbitration under the order of the court of Chancery, in the reign of Charles I, it was settled that the right was



* Sedilia. + The former situation of the Stoup.
CHAPEL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW, CHATHAM.

in the hospital, but that the principal claimant under the grant should receive a compensation in the sum of £50, and some other advantages, upon relinquishing all claims to the lands under dispute. The expenses attending this litigation were afterwards paid by various fines, by tenants on renewing their leases; and at the present time the dean of Rochester is the patron of the hospital, and receives the rents.

Of the original hospital nothing now remains; but four persons, who are styled brethren, two of whom are in orders, are supported by the revenues.¹ Hugh de Trottesclyve, a monk of Rochester in the reign of Henry I, built a chapel, and dedicated it to St. Bartholomew. The site of this now forms part of a chapel of ease, which, under the munificence of W. Walter, esq., one of the justices of Kent, was enlarged in 1743. The eastern part of this chapel, which is the more ancient of the structure, is deserving of notice, as the subjoined plan (see plate 3, fig. 1) will demonstrate. It forms a circular apse, lighted by three circular-headed windows, the centre light being the larger one. These are furnished with zig-zag mouldings beautifully worked, and are now as fresh as if done but a few days ago. The walls are of rough flintwork. There is, on the south side a small sedilia, with two very early English columns with pointed arch and caps and bases. There was also a small stoup for holy water (fig. 2), which has been removed, and is now built in another part. The date of the Norman part of this building may perhaps justly be attributed to the latter part of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.

Of the other leper houses in the county of Kent shorter notices may suffice. At CANTERBURY there were four leper hospitals, one dedicated to St. James, bordering upon the city, and built by queen Eleanor, wife to king Henry III, according to Lambard and Weever. Somner, however, questions the accuracy of this, as it was an hospital before Henry III reigned. It is mentioned by bishop Baldwin. Early in the reign of John it was under the protection of the prior and convent of Christ Church.

The second St. Nicholas, at HERBALDOWNE, was, according to Somner, also a lazaret; in discovering of which he makes some remarks upon the disease which he calls the

¹ Hasted's *Kent*, vol. ii, p. 76.

"elephantiasy or leprosy in this kingdom of old time," which Mr. Camden thinks entered this island with the Normans. He calls it a 'national malady'. Somner gives the foundation of it, following Edmerus, as having been "built by archbishop Lanfranc on the side of a hill at a further distance from the west gate of the city than St. John's hospital was from the north gate of the city. That it was assigned for the use of the leprous; and so contrived that the men, as in other like hospitals, were kept separate from the society of the women. By his appointment also, whatsoever the sick wanted, according to the quality of their disease, was provided for them, out of his own substance; and the care hereof was committed to men, whose diligence, kindness, and patience in looking after the sick, no one could doubt of." Somner then goes on to show that archbishop Richard, successor to Becket, relates the erection of this and St. John's hospital by Lanfranc, and gives also an account of his endowments of them out of his manors of Reculver and Bocton, being £70 per annum. Lanfranc, thus clearly shown to have been the founder of this hospital for lepers, proves also that the disease existed in Western Europe prior to the time of the Crusades, as the departure of Englishmen took place only in 1096, Lanfranc having died in 1089, nine years previous. There was also another hospital named after St. Lawrence. The fourth was founded by Hugh, the second abbot of St. Augustine, about A.D. 1137, for leprous monks, or poor parents and relations of the monks of the abbey. At its dissolution the revenues were valued at £39:8:6 in the whole, and £31:7:10 in the clear. Edward VI alienated it to one Tipsel of London, and queen Mary afterwards granted it to sir John Perrot or Parrot. Archbishop Parker says, that in 1562 it was leased by the prioress and sisters to sir Christopher Hales. It stood on the road to Dover, on the south-east suburb of the city. Somner, in his antiquities of Canterbury, gives an account of this hospital, dedicated as he says to the "broiled martyr St. Lawrence", and he quotes a private "Leiger Book" of the place, from which we learn that it was established for sixteen brethren and sisters, and for one priest or chaplain, and one clerk. The founder gave nine acres of ground upon which it was built, and all the tithe corn of the lordship of Langport, and his benediction thus: "And the blessing of

God be upon all those, that for the love of God shall be charitable to the poor and sick in the said hospital." (p. 39, part i.) At the suppression it was only valued at £13: 7: 10, yet large donations had been given by benevolent individuals, particularly by R. de Marci, the lord of Dodingdale, who gave the tithes of his whole manor, and this afterwards formed a subject of litigation between the hospital and that of St. Gregory.

BOUGHTON under Blean in Kent had a hospital, and chapel, dedicated to St. Nicholas, for lazars and poor people. It was founded by Thomas at Hurst, in the reign of Richard II.

DARTFORD had its hospital of Saint Mary Magdalen, for lepers, notice of which occurs A.D. 1330.

DOVER had a leprous hospital dedicated to St. Bartholomew, which Tanner says was begun about 1141, upon the solicitation of two monks. After the dissolution the site was granted to J. Bowle for life, and subsequently to sir Thomas Palmer in fee, by 6 Edward VI.

HYTHE also had a leprous hospital, mentioned by Tanner as existing before 1336. According to Dugdale, it is mentioned in the foundation charter of St. Andrew.

OSPRINGE had a leper hospital, founded in 1235, by Henry III. This was for a master and three regular brethren of the order of the Holy Cross, and two secular clerks, who were to pray for the soul of the founder, and the souls of his royal predecessors and successors; they were likewise to be hospitable to poor and needy passengers and pilgrims, and especially to relieve lepers, for whom a building was erected opposite to the hospital. In the reign of Edward IV, the house was forsaken, in consequence of the sudden death of one of the inmates, as supposed from plague. The hospital became escheated to the crown, and in the reign of Henry VIII, through the interest of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, granted to St. John's College, Cambridge.

OTTEFORD had a house for lepers, mentioned upon the Liberate Roll, 13 Henry III, m. 11.

RUMNEY had another Kentish leper hospital. It was founded in the reign of Henry II, and dedicated to St. Stephen and St. Thomas à Becket, in the time of archbishop Baldwin, by Adam de Cherring. Its revenues were small, and being decayed and forsaken, in 1363 John Frauncys,

then patron, reestablished it with a master and a priest, almost in the nature of a chantry, and in 1481 it was annexed to St. Mary Magdalen College, Oxford.

TANNINGTON without Canterbury had a hospital dedicated to St. James in the reign of Henry II, for twenty-five leprous sisters. Its revenues at the dissolution, 26 Henry VIII, were £53 : 16 : 11. The site was granted, by 5 Edw. VI, to Robert Dartnell.

I shall, in another communication, give some particulars relative to the several leper hospitals and houses in the counties of England.

EXCAVATIONS ON BRIGHTSTONE AND BOW-COMBE DOWNS, ISLE OF WIGHT,

MADE IN AUGUST 1854.

BY GEORGE HILLIER, ESQ.

(Communicated by the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A.)

DURING the middle ages, when the Isle of Wight was continually subjected to the incursions of our opposite continental neighbours, much consideration was directed towards "the orderlie day and night watches of the island", as well as to the several beacons which were placed on the two forelands (Bembridge and Freshwater), and the other places where guard was usually kept; whilst very stringent regulations were, on several occasions, published by the captains of the island for the instruction of the men whose duty it was to be in attendance on the various hills where the beacons had been formed.

All traditionary knowledge respecting these mounds has long since passed away; and it is only by referring to mouldering and quaintly written documents that any information can be obtained respecting them, and the generally entertained idea of their being barrows, repudiated.

With the amateur, or one little skilled in the examina-

tion of early sepulchral memorials, it is the common practice to select the largest he can discover as the scene of his operations, fondly imagining that where there is great bulk, much treasure will be found; and it is only when considerable time and labour have been expended that he becomes aware of his error in judgment.

From such reasoning, several of the elevations in the Isle of Wight, which, from the reign of the fourth Edward, to the period prior to the coming of the Spanish armada, were formed as beacons, have been subjected to an examination which has, of course, invariably proved fruitless; and one of the most prominent of them, the Gallibury Hump or Heap, as it has been long called, on Brightstone or Brixton Down, seems to have been several times partially disrupted, and the task as frequently relinquished. But in the month of July 1854, the committee of the Isle of Wight museum, at Newport, having raised the necessary funds, and obtained the ready permission of the proprietor of the site, sir John Simeon, bart., determined fully to explore the mound. At the request of this society, I agreed to superintend the operations; but as I had no doubt, after an inspection of the locality, regarding the former adaptation of the formation, I had but little hope that the shelves of the museum would be benefited by the endeavour.

On Thursday, the 3rd of August, however, the labour was commenced by the six men placed under my orders; and after continuing the work throughout the whole of that day, a portion of the succeeding (very heavy rain coming on about twelve o'clock), and on Saturday morning, the anticipated result was too surely verified after a most minute investigation.

The upper roadway from Carisbrook to Freshwater and the south-west part of the island, as is well known, leads over an extended range of downs, Bowcombe or Buccombe being the first of the series. On this down there are two barrows of a large size, which have undoubtedly been subjected to the energy of the inquirer, whilst near the one which is placed to the south-west, a tumulus of apparently lesser import had evidently remained undisturbed. On the Saturday afternoon, therefore, it was determined to remove the men from the Gallibury Heap to this position, and an excavation was at once commenced in the unopened

mound just alluded to. Its height was about two feet, and upon being cut through to the original surface of the down, a deposit of burnt bones and ash was found, but entirely destitute of any relic or appearance of manufactured article. The interment was pronounced by Mr. Ernest Wilkins to have been that of an adult and child, and, in all probability, of a parent and offspring.

Whilst engaged in this examination, several slight elevations, eleven in number, placed on either side of the remaining dismembered barrow, and which had apparently hitherto escaped notice from their insignificance, attracted my attention; and, as a sufficient space of time still remained to warrant the endeavour, operations were immediately proceeded with on the tumulus marked in the accompanying plan. (See plate 4, No. 1.)

Here, after digging to the depth of about eighteen inches, the pickaxe struck upon the foot of a skeleton, which was carefully followed out, and exposed entire. The position of the body, when uncovered, showed the grave to have been dug from south-west to north-east, the greatest depth not being more than two feet. With these remains, near the upper part of the tibia, were found the hare-enamelled fibula marked in plate 4, fig. 1, and the bronze tag, fig. 2, about half way down the thigh-bone, both on the right side; a small piece of metal, with two rivet holes; and the iron buckle of the belt, found on the sacrum. The rust on a portion of the latter article delineated most accurately the texture of the material which had formed the dress of the owner.

The skeleton was minus the skull, which it was plain had never been deposited in the grave; whilst directly under the back, a large flat piece of the Freshwater limestone was placed. The bone of the right arm, the fifth rib on the left side, and the fibula of the left leg, were likewise broken. As the bones of the body reposed in the grave, they measured fifty-seven inches in length, and had seemingly been placed there without any particular degree of carefulness.

The fibula and tag are of late Roman manufacture; and the other memorials, to which I shall have occasion hereafter to refer, will, I think, mark this down as the site of a cemetery of a period which I may perhaps be permitted

+



1



2



4



3

+

to name the *transitional*, or the time when the Roman and Saxon races were becoming mingled, as the articles discovered with these burials are evidently of an earlier date than those which have been exhumed in the purely Anglo-Saxon tumuli of the island.

This terminated the labours of the week ; but as it seemed more than probable that the investigation of the remaining tumuli on this down would assist the development of the history of the early inhabitants of the island, sir John Simeon not only instantly gave his permission for a continuation of the researches, but in the most kind and considerate manner likewise offered the services of his own men to assist me in the manual part of the undertaking. On the 21st of the same month of August, therefore, I resumed the inquiry, with the assistance of two most indefatigable men from the garden at Swainston (the seat of sir John Simeon), and successively opened the barrows laid down and numbered in the plan.

No. 2.—At about the depth of two feet we came upon some portions of a dagger much corroded ; and immediately underneath, a quantity of partly calcined bones and ash : among the former was a coin of Constantine, of the type usually discovered in similar positions.

No. 3.—Here, about one foot below the surface, a most compact mass of flints and brickearth, which must have taken much time to amalgamate, was struck upon. When cleared, it presented much the appearance of one of the grottos the children in London are in the habit of constructing with oyster-shells at a certain season of the year,—in the centre being the urn seen in plate 4, fig. 3. From the force which had been used in the combination of the extraneous mass, the upper portion was, however, much crushed, but is still capable of reparation. It was completely filled with burnt matter, which has not been yet disturbed. Size, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, by 9 inches in breadth.

No. 4.—In this barrow nothing but a few fragments of a broken urn were discovered,—a result which leads me to remark that the varying nature of the stratification on this down has no doubt had a considerable effect on the preservation or destruction of the matters deposited there. When the deposit is found in the chalk, an extraordinary degree of preservation is observable ; but when an alter-

nation of clay occurs, scarcely an evidence of the original appropriation is discernible.

No. 5.—A skeleton, in every way perfect, with the exception of the skull, which, as in the former instance, had not been deposited with the body at the time of burial. The depth of the grave was about two feet; and there was no appearance of any articles, save some pieces of a broken sepulchral urn, having been placed with the corpse.

No. 6.—Barren.

No. 7.—After excavating to the depth of one foot, which brought us to the surface of the down, a small cist (if I may so describe it), covered with another stone, was exposed. It was composed of five stones, placed on edge, and consequently five-sided in shape: its extreme length being about fifteen inches, and breadth nine. Whatever substance or matter it had been designed to protect, had, however, evidently long yielded to the conqueror of all things—time, as not a vestige of any material remained.

No. 8.—A bead much corroded, and some particles of human bones.

No. 9, protected in the same manner as described under No. 3, was an urn of similar design, but of larger size. It was, however, so crushed, that although every care was taken, it collapsed in the process of removal, and thereupon fell to pieces, the fragments being collected and preserved.

No. 10.—Another urn, but differing in shape and colour. It is represented on plate 4, fig. 4, and in size measured 8 ins. in height by $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in breadth. In colour it was reddish. And I must here observe, that I think it is a question if the remains of the body, after the process of cremation, were not sometimes at least deposited in an unbaked urn, and the whole then exposed to the action of fire on their intended final resting place, as in this instance the wood-ash still remained in such a state, *en masse*, round the urn, as would warrant such a conclusion. It is, I think, also probable that these urns were here fabricated on the spot, as a considerable quantity of the clay, etc., from which they appeared to have been moulded, still remained in a heap near to the barrow marked No. 5, and which was undoubtedly brought from Shide near Newport.

No. 11.—A parallel deposit to that just described, the

urn being of nearly the same size and colour, but having the upper portion much crushed.

If the entirety of this part of Bowcombe Down were trenched, it is not unlikely that much other sepulchral evidence would be discovered ; for the action of the weather on the mounds which originally marked the site of the places of burial, has no doubt, in many instances, nearly levelled them with the surface ; and it is also singular that the two barrows which contained the skeletons were completely isolated from the greater number, where cremation had been practised. The entirety of this district is, however, one of much interest to the inquirer, and presents many points worthy of investigation and careful examination.

The labours I have just described, occupied five days of the week, and on the Saturday, in order that the only two barrows which apparently remained unopened on this down, might be examined before the members of the Isle of Wight Philosophical Society, who had determined to make an excursion to the scene of operations on the succeeding Monday, I adjourned to Brightstone Down, and there proceeded to work on a tumulus which was placed about five hundred or six hundred yards to the south-west of the Gallibury Heap. It was about seven feet in height, and composed of soil of so peculiarly a sandy nature that it was at once pronounced by the men to have been brought from the neighbourhood of Calbourne. About four feet below the apex, a layer of wood-ashes and burnt silex, three inches in thickness, was reached, which formed, as it were, the crust of a lesser barrow, and covered it in a regular slope to the original surface of the down. One foot deeper, the spade (for the whole mass was so loose that a pickaxe was dispensed with) struck upon a mass of burnt wood, which bore the appearance of having been a thick plank ; and at the still further depth of about eighteen inches, a small cavern or open space, fifteen inches in height by nearly three feet in length and breadth, was revealed. It bore the appearance of having been systematically formed when the barrow was first thrown up, and not the result of accident or depression ; whilst precisely in the centre of this open space a mass of partly burnt bones, consisting of the relics of several bodies, was placed.

On Monday morning, August 28th, the members of the Isle of Wight Philosophical Society, accompanied by lord Downes, etc., assembled on Bowcombe Down; but as it was soon evidenced that the operations on the two barrows which had been reserved for this especial occasion, were to end in disappointment, an adjournment to a barrow on the down, near Rowbridge and Swainston, was determined on. This barrow had been partially disrupted some years since, for the purpose of placing a flag-staff on its summit. It was of large size, and, as I have before stated, there was not therefore the likelihood of a return equivalent to the labour required for its examination.

To work, however, the men readily and manfully went, whilst the luncheon which the kindness of sir John Simeon had provided, amidst the welcome shelter of the adjacent coppice-wood from the sun, was fully appreciated. Considerable progress was made; but as the shades of evening found the task still incomplete, it was reserved until the following morning finally to ascertain the contents of the tumulus; when, in the presence of sir John Simeon, the rev. Mr. Kell, and myself, the fact of the common system of cremation having been here practised, was arrived at; and science, in this particular instance, consequently gained but little from the exertions, which had certainly been considerably taxed.

I have thus briefly narrated the progress and result of this endeavour; and although, as regards the general interest attendant on such researches, little that is new has been rendered, still, in a local point of view, and as illustrative of the history of the early inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, much that is valuable has been gleaned; and it is hoped that the state of a period which is at present involved in profound obscurity, will eventually be still more enlightened by similar systematic investigations.

ON THE
GEOGRAPHY OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE
SAXONS OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND
THE NORTHERN BRITONS,

FROM THE BATTLE OF MENAO TO THAT OF KALTRAERZ.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

If the chronology¹ of this period of our history presents great difficulties to the antiquary, what may be termed, though not in strictly accurate language, its geography, is still more obscure. We possess no ancient record which gives a systematic description of the allocation of the different tribes at this period. We are therefore forced to draw our conclusions from a number of isolated facts, scattered throughout the works of the old writers, bards, and chroniclers, which, having been mentioned in connection with various subjects, bear no immediate relation to one another, and from these imperfect data various systems have been constructed by modern authors.

The subject naturally divides itself into three heads:

1. The boundaries and relative positions of the different kingdoms and tribes at the commencement of the period to which the poems of *Lywarch-henn*, *Taliessin*, and *Aneurin*, refer; 2. The changes and alterations which occurred in these during the course of this period; 3. The particular sites of the various battles enumerated.

1. In considering the boundaries of the kingdoms, the nation which first demands attention is the Saxons of Northumberland, or rather of the two provinces *Bernicia* or Northumberland proper, and *Deira*, which were sometimes conjoined and sometimes independent of one another. In regard to these the count de la Villemarqué has a theory peculiarly his own, which, as it runs through his whole system of distribution, may be at once examined and disposed of. He states in his preface, p. 36, "That the Angles formed the last ban of the German invaders; that they landed in great numbers between the Firth of Forth and

¹ See *Journal*, vol. x, pp. 94-97.

the mouth of the Tweed, guided by Ida and his sons. This chief advanced from the east to the west." Now, independent of there not being in existence the smallest historical evidence in favour of this theory, it seems in itself totally opposed to all probability. The nature of the coast between the mouth of the Firth of Forth and the mouth of the Tweed is remarkable for its rock-bound character, and must have proved most unfavourable for the landing of any invading force. We also know from the *Saxon Chronicle* that Ida built the town of Bamborough in Northumberland, and from Bede, that the kingdom of Northumbria extended northward from the Humber and Tyne. If therefore the Saxons advanced from the east to the west, they must have done so on a most extended front, —a mode of proceeding incompatible with a body of invaders arriving by sea, and which must have brought them simultaneously in collision with a number of different tribes. It is also clear, that unless they had completely crushed those immediately opposed to them, they could not safely have executed aggressions on their flank. This, count Villemarqué supposes they did not attempt until after the death of Urien, when the weakness of his sons enabled them to do so ; but the death of that chieftain was subsequent to that of Ida, and the *Saxon Chronicle* shews that the operation had commenced before the death of the latter. The statements of the bards, that the Saxons, after the death of Urien, occupied the whole of *his* kingdom, is also inconsistent with this theory, which must assume that it was situated in Cumberland, while the accessions of the sons of Ida, it is admitted, were in Northumberland, and they must therefore have occupied the island from Berwick to Carlisle, an idea which I shall show to be untenable. Independently of this, I have, in treating of the chronology, pointed out facts that rendered it improbable, I should almost say impossible, that Ida could have come into conflict with Urien. Another result of this theory is, that it leaves too little space for the position of the British tribes, especially when the obstinate nature of the resistance offered by them is considered. Indeed, when he comes to treat of these, the translator of the *Poemes Bretons* seems to get into inextricable confusion. Battles which we know, from the *Ulster* and other Scottish annals, were fought in Northumberland,

are crowded into the valley of the Clyde and the mountains from which that river flows, or in the country between it and the Forth. Indeed, to any one acquainted with the nature of the highlands in which the Clyde has its source, and who has observed the marked characteristic of their formation, viz., that while the descent to the south and west is sudden and abrupt, that to the north and east is of the most gradual character, the count de la Villemarqué's description of the site of a battle delivered against an invader from the east, viz., "at the foot of the mountains from which descends the Clyde," is perfectly indefinite. Equally strange appears the definition of the territory of the British who fought at Kaltraez, "All the Britons, from the Firth of Solway to Loch Lomond, and from the mouth of the Forth to that of the Clyde"; setting aside, as it does, the whole natural physical divisions of the country, and massing together people who could have no geographical, and therefore no political relation, unless the intermediate territory was included in the league.

Such a theory may certainly be pardoned in a foreigner unacquainted with the details of the country of which he is writing, and whose attention is rather directed to the annotation of certain particular poems than the general topography of the period; but what shall we say of the *Quarterly* reviewer, who, commenting on the *Poemes de Bardes Bretons*, informs us that "the possession of the northern rampart, guarded as it was by numerous forts, would go far to determine how effectual should be the barrier opposed by the British kingdom of Strathclyde, either to its Saxon neighbours of Bernicia and Deira, or to the lawless tribes of the north." In other words the wall of Antoninus, which runs from east to west, formed a fortification against the Picts and Scots on the north and the Saxons on the south, which is in fact to reduce the territory of the Strathclyde Britons, one of the most powerful tribes, who perhaps maintained their independence longer than any others in the north, *to the dimensions of a mathematical line.*

The real course of the Saxon invasion appears to have been from south to north. The dominions of Ida are always spoken of as the kingdom of Northumberland, and the furthest point to the north in which we can trace him

is Bamborough castle. Bede again and again defines the Northumbrians "as the nation of the Angles that live on the north side of the river Humber", and even extends still further south the territories of the Deiri, as we gather from the following passage: "Oswin governed the province of the Deiri seven years. Oswy governed all the other northern part of the nation beyond the Humber that is in the province of Bernicia." In fact, from the whole tenor of the notices handed down to us, it seems manifest that the Saxons landed at least as far south as the mouth of the Tyne, and fought their way north along the sea coast, without penetrating very far into the interior: a most natural course of proceeding, as the sea coast was flat and fertile, while the interior was mountainous and barren. A reference to the geography of Ptolemy will also show that in this line of attack they would not encounter a number of tribes at once, as in the former case, but would at first have only the Brigantes to contend with, and would not come into collision with any other tribe till these had been subdued. From the very scanty information possessed by us, it is almost impossible to fix the exact boundaries of the Saxons in the reign of Freothwulf, the time at which I date the earliest battle recorded by the bards. Looking at the length of Ida's reign, and the nature of the country, I can hardly suppose that his territory extended much to the north of Bamborough; neither do I think it likely that it received much accession in this direction up to the time of Freothwulf, whose predecessor was besieged in the island of Medecant, which we know to be Farne Island, from its being subsequently mentioned in the Saxon chronicles as the place of St. Cuthbert's death. The following are what I am inclined to assign as the more northern boundaries of the Saxons at that time, they being the natural divisions most consonant with the facts handed down to us. From the sea, along the Tweed till it joins the Till: up the latter to Wooler, and then along the margin of the great range of hills which there intervenes between Northumberland and Scotland, in the first place, and afterwards between the former and Cumberland. A glance at any map will show the course of this great natural boundary; and I have only to add that, in the conclusion of these remarks, I shall have occasion to show that it was on the

eastern face of these hills that the principal battles, prior to the fall of Urien, were fought.

Turning next to the northern Britons, we find that, at this time, they were divided into the following kingdoms or tribes: 1, Strathclyde; 2, the Selgovæ; 3, Edinburgh; 4, Reghed; 5, Argoed, to which may also be added, 6, Guendota, though this latter was only occasionally included in the confederation. In considering the boundaries of these, it is necessary to keep in view a circumstance which must be familiar to every student of Welsh history. That race appears to have been invariably divided into distinct tribes, each governed by its own ruler, the succession to that dignity being generally hereditary. These, however, combined from time to time into confederations, under the command of a single chief, who was selected from among the kings of the separate tribes, according to the influence or abilities of the individual. In some cases, indeed, this supremacy was so slight and indefinite that the office was ascribed by different writers to the king of the nation with which they were more immediately connected. Thus Lywarch and Taliessin, being companions of Urien, describe him as being generalissimo at the battles of Menao, Argoed, etc. Joceline, in writing the life of St. Kentigern, gives this office to the rulers of Strathclyde; while the Ulster annals, and the other records emanating from Scottish sources, ascribe this preeminence to Aidan. From the same cause it often happens that a writer uses the name of a particular tribe to designate the whole confederacy, and it in consequence becomes necessary to distinguish most carefully between the cases where a passage refers to the individual tribe, and where it includes under that name the whole members of the alliance.

1st. *The Strathclyde Britons* appear to have occupied the county inhabited by the Damnii and Gadeni of Ptolemy, viz. Lanarkshire, Dumbartonshire, Renfrewshire, and part of Ayrshire, but did not extend to that portion of the territory of the Damnii to the north of the wall, which seems by this time to have fallen under the dominion of the Picts.

In the poems of the bards this tribe is often described as the people of Godeu, evidently a corruption of Gadeni. To this it may be objected, that Richard of Cirencester and Camden place the Gadeni in Haddington and Roxburgh;

but the latter theory, as Pinkerton¹ has well explained, arises from an erroneous interpretation of a passage of Ptolemy.

Two opposite errors have been fallen into by different writers in regard to the boundaries of the kingdom of Strathclyde. Some have extended them to a most prodigious extent,—a mistake which originates from not attending sufficiently to the peculiarity of the British confederations alluded to above. The evidence generally adduced in support of these views consists of—

1st. Passages in Bede and other ancient authors, which state that the dominions of this tribe at one time extended as far as the southern wall; but the simultaneous mention of other tribes, such as the Brigantes, etc., shows that this statement must not be literally applied to the particular sept, but that the latter must be taken as the head and symbol of the whole northern Britons. And,

2nd. The famous *Inquisitio facta per David, principem Cumbriæ, de possessionibus ecclesiæ Glasguensis*. This inquisition, which was held by David the brother and successor of Alexander I, circa 1113, and was directed to ascertain what lands had at any previous time belonged to the see of Glasgow, has given occasion to father Innes to maintain that the kingdom of Strathclyde included Cumberland as well as the whole south of Scotland; while Pinkerton, on the other hand, in denying the soundness of this extensive claim, has not hesitated to pronounce the deed a *pious fraud*. I cannot, however, agree either with the interpretation of the one writer, or the censure of the other. The deed proceeds on this narrative:

“*In Cumbria itaque regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam sita, domestici filii ac proceres regni cum rege provinciæ cooperante Pontificalem Cumbrensis regionis fundaverunt. . . . Diversæ seditiones circumquaque insurgentes totam regionem vastantes, ejus habitatores exilio tradiderunt. Sic ergo omnibus bonis exterminatis, magnis temporum intervallis transactis, diversæ tribus diversarum nationum ex diversis partibus affluentes desertam regionem præfatam habitaverunt, sed dispari gente ac dissimili linguâ, et vario more viventes haut facile sese consentientes. Gentilitatem potius quam fidei cultum tenuerunt. . . . Tempore nimirum Henrici regis Angliæ, Alexandro Scotorum rege in Scotiâ regnante, misit iis Deus David predicti regis Scotiæ germanum in principem et ducem. . . . David vero Cumbrensis regionis princeps terras ecclesiæ Glasguensi per-*

¹ Pinkerton, *Inquiry*, vol. i, p. 35.

tinentes singulis Cumbriæ provinciis quæ sub dominio et potestate ejus erant, non enim toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur, inquirere fecit."

The *Cumbrensis regio* of this extract, considered in conjunction with the context and the scope of the passage, can, in my opinion, only refer to the whole country of the northern Britons, and is in no way intended to be limited to the kingdom of Strathclyde proper. On looking at the result of the inquisition this becomes still more manifest. Among the lands found to have belonged to the see of Glasgow, are Hoddam and Drivesdale, etc., places known by these names at the present day, and situated in Dumfriesshire, and within the bounds of the Selgovæ. Now we know, from the *Gododin* and the other Welsh poems, that this tribe, though allied to, were independent of, the Strathclyde Britons in the time of St. Kentigern and of the battle of Kaltraez; and although we know that the kingdom of Strathclyde existed after that date, it is clear that it was never so powerful as to subjugate a neighbouring tribe. Again, although the statement as to devastation, and especially as to the exile of the inhabitants, may be admissible when applied to the northern Britons generally, it can scarcely be called accurate in regard to Strathclyde proper, because we have authentic records which establish its existence, either as a tributary or independent kingdom, as late as A.D. 972, when it became incorporated with the dominions of the Scottish monarchs. Certain of the lands mentioned in some copies of the inquisition, such as Kendal, are situated in Cumberland. Now we have it established that, although this country was inhabited by a British tribe which at one time was allied to the Strathclyde and the rest of the northern septs, and at another remained neutral between the latter and their Saxon invaders, it throughout maintained a position totally independent of Strathclyde until given by Edmund of England to Malcolm I of Scotland, in A.D. 945. At the same time, as this tribe was a Christian one, of kindred origin, there is nothing singular in the donation, by some devoted disciple, of lands within its territory to the great episcopal see of the northern Britons; more especially when the whole records of the religious houses of Scotland are full of evidence that many lands in that kingdom had been from time to time granted to similar foundations in England.

Pinkerton seems, however, to have fallen into an opposite error, and to have curtailed unduly the boundaries of this tribe. In one passage (i, 72) he states that they occupied Renfrew, Dumbarton, and *a part of Lanarkshire*, with a small portion of Ayrshire. At page 66 he allows them only *a small part of Lanarkshire*; but again extends this, at page 84, *to the greater part of the same county*. He gives no authority for supposing that they did not possess the whole of Lanarkshire; and it appears to be more than probable that they did. The territory of the Damnii certainly extended over the whole of Clydesdale. We read of no invasion of any part of it: indeed, this could only have been attempted by the Selgovæ, who, we find, were invariably allied to the Strathclydienses. There is no natural boundary which could have separated independent tribes occupying different portions of the valley of the Clyde: our later records, moreover, furnish us with facts which seem to show that the whole district was included in the territory of one tribe. When the Scottish kings obtained dominion over the districts which now form the southern part of that kingdom, they divided them into counties, or what are called, in the inquisition quoted above, "provinces". These divisions naturally followed the boundaries of the tribes, both on account of the former political grouping of their inhabitants, and because they were separated by the great physical features of the country. In consequence we might expect to find that the kingdom of Strathclyde constituted one of these divisions; and this appears to have been the case. Its inhabitants are occasionally mentioned by the bards as the men of Lenok or Levenax: a name still preserved in the modern Lenox, though with a restricted application; and we find a county or division described as Levenax at a very early period. Now we know that it was the custom to refer disputes as to land to a jury of other proprietors in the division: nay, that even in criminal cases it was in some instances necessary that a part of the inquest should consist of men of the same locality. For instance, in a parliament of Alexander II, held at Edinburgh in 1228, it is recorded,—"*Judicatum est de Gillescop Mahohegen per diversos judices tam Galwidie tam Scocie*." For these reasons the following inquisition would appear evidence of the extent of the kingdom of Strathclyde:

"Inquisitio de terra de Polnegulan.—Hæc est inquisitio facta apud Dumbretan anno Domini M^o CC^o L^o IX die Jovis proximo post festum Sancte Lucie virginis, in presenciâ Andrie clerici attornati justiciarii constituti per literas regis et in presenciam Roberti de Colechon et aliorum *proborum de Levenax* quorum sigilla sunt hic apposita per has baronias scilicet, Lesmahagu, Robertiston Wystem Thankardiston Kermikel, Stanus, Kelbride et Daliel," etc.

Now it is curious that these lands, almost without exception, retain the same names at the present day; and a glance at any modern map of Lanarkshire will show that they are scattered over the whole length and breadth of the county, from the upper part of the Clyde to the neighbourhood of Glasgow. This ancient deed, therefore, supports the idea that the kingdom of Strathclyde embraced the whole of Lanarkshire. It also extended over a part of Ayrshire. But it is unnecessary for me at present to inquire as to the extent of this, because any part not attached to Strathclyde fell under the dominion of the next tribe, who, during the period of which I am treating, were in constant alliance with it, and were arrayed on the same side in every battle recorded.

2. *The Selgovæ and Novantes.* These tribes, as described by Ptolemy, inhabited Dumfriesshire, Galloway, and part of Ayrshire, and they appear to have maintained the same position down to the battle of Kaltraez. From the name of the latter not appearing in the poems of the bards, it may, however, be conjectured that, like the Damnii and Gadeni, they had amalgamated into one sept. With the antiquaries of the last century, it was the fashion to place a colony of Picts in Galloway. For this their reasons appear to have been,—1st, speculations as to whether the names of certain localities must not be referred to a Pictish origin instead of a Danish one; and that, again, depended on ascertaining whether the language of the Picts was a dialect of the Celtic or of the Gothic: a point, for the decision of which there are in reality no data, while its discussion has furnished sir Walter Scott with material for the most good-humoured raillery, when making it the cause of the famous dispute between the antiquary and sir Arthur Wardour, after the dinner at Monkbarns;—and 2ndly, certain passages in the life of St. Ninian, which, in my opinion, will in no way support their views, and which are, in fact,

given up even by Pinkerton. It is stated that this saint came to Galloway, and, by permission of a king called Tudwald, founded an episcopal see, and built a church at *Candida Casa*, the modern Whithorn. After mentioning this, his biographer, Ailred, states that he converted the southern Picts. Now there is nothing to connect these two facts together, or to lead us to suppose that the *Candida Casa* was within the territories of the southern Picts: on the contrary, the two events are disjoined in point of time; and nothing can be more consistent with the character of these early bishops than to proceed to some new and distant field of labour, after having established the church firmly in the one they first had visited. This view is strongly corroborated by a passage in Bede, iii, 3. "There came into Britain a famous priest and abbot, whose name was Columba, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts, *who are separated from the southern parts by steep and rugged mountains; for the southern Picts, who dwell on this side of these mountains*, had long before embraced the truth by the preaching of Ninias." This description of the relative geographical position of the two portions of Picts is utterly inconsistent with the southern Picts being located in Galloway, where they would not have been separated from their brethren by mountains but by the sea.

3rd. The kingdom of Edinburgh. The natives of this district, Pinkerton asserts, were Picts; and it must be admitted that there are very different grounds for this statement than in the preceding cases: but, nevertheless, it is not a question by any means free of doubt. It is certainly, at first sight, supported by certain passages in the *Saxon Chronicle* and Bede; but as these relate exclusively to a period later than the battle of Kaltraez, I do not think it necessary to pursue this inquiry at present, more especially as the *Gododin* furnishes us with notices of this tribe amply sufficient to fix its position relative to the struggle between the Saxons of Bernicia and the northern Britons, without considering whether its origin was British or Pictish, viz.: 1st, that it occupied the southern shores of the Firth of Forth; 2nd, that it was one of the most powerful allies of the Strathclyde Britons at the battle of Kaltraez; and 3rd, that shortly before that event the Saxons had made an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate its territory.

4th. Reged, the kingdom of Urien. Great difference of opinion has existed as to the locality of this tribe, and as it is the point on which I have been led to differ from preceding inquirers, I shall endeavour to state as clearly as possible the grounds on which I have formed my conclusions.

The first step in such an investigation appears to me to be, the ascertaining what physical characteristics of the district have been mentioned in the poems of the bards and other records. The songs of Taliessin assign to Reghed as its main feature that it was not hilly, but level. In that of the battle of Argoed Loueven, Urien is entitled "*the chieftain of the cultivated plain*," and the same is twice repeated in that which the count de la Villemarqué designates "*Chant à Urien*." It was also situated to the south of several of the other British tribes, for in the poem called "*Dedomagement à Urien*," the bard declares that he *does not address himself to the North, or to its kings without number*.

The next point is to fix the leading incidents of the history of the tribe. These may be shortly stated. After a struggle of some duration, the Saxons, in the time of Ethelforth, succeeded at the battle of Egesanstan in completely routing the forces of the British League. Urien fell, and we learn from the *Lament* of Lywarch-henn, and from the Saxon authorities formerly quoted, that his family and adherents were expelled from their country, and that Reghed fell under the power of the Saxons, under whose rule it remained as late as the death of Bede, in A.D. 735.

It has been usual to suppose that this kingdom was situated in Cumberland, and that it was bounded on the south by that of Guendota, which occupied Westmorland and the north part of Lancashire, and on the north by the Selgovæ. But is this position consistent with the physical character of Reghed? Of all the counties in England, Cumberland is perhaps the last to which the term level could be applied. On the contrary, it is throughout distinguished by its mountainous character, and we may be sure that the most prominent title given by its inhabitants to their king would not be that of "lord of the cultivated plain". The political history of Reghed also raises a barrier against this supposition. On the death of Urien his family was exiled, while the territory occupied by him became the possession of the Saxons. If, then, Reghed was

the modern Cumberland, it is manifest that on the death of Urien, the Saxons must have extended their dominions from sea to sea, and in consequence interposed a complete barrier between any Britons south of that county and their northern brethren, and entirely cut off any direct communication between the inhabitants of Guendota and those of Strathclyde.

But how is this to be reconciled with the statement of Nennius, that the king of the former was present as an ally of the latter at the battle of Kaltraez, and that he escaped to his own country in safety? "But Catgabail, alone king of Guenedot, rising up in the night, escaped, together with his army, wherefore he was called Catgabail Catguommed." Is it to be for a moment believed that the Saxons would permit their enemies to traverse their country at their pleasure and without opposition, not only when they were advancing to aid a people with which these very Saxons were contending, but also in the course of a flight from the field of a disastrous defeat; and this, too, when the liberty of walking to and fro was to be exercised in a country like Cumberland, where there exist so many positions which would enable a comparatively small number of troops to harass and hinder the passage of a far superior force? For these reasons I believe it is impossible, consistently with the information handed down to us, to place Reghed in the present county of Cumberland, and that we must seek its locality elsewhere.

I may next advert to the information as to the kingdom of Urien conveyed to us by Geoffrey of Monmouth. I do not mean to claim for this any very positive authority, because I quite agree with the rev. Beale Poste,¹ that it was written for a purpose and an end. That it invariably overlooks the distribution of the Britons into separate tribes, and constantly endeavours to represent them as an united nation under one king, holding the whole of the island under his sceptre. In consequence many deeds and achievements are by it ascribed to its favourite, Arthur, which in truth belonged to different persons and periods, till, like the Hercules of the ancients, he becomes the mythical embodiment of the labours of many separate individuals. But in spite of this constant source of error, and of the mass of exaggeration

¹ See *Journal*, vol. x, p. 231.

tion which encumbers the narrative, I cannot but think that there is often at the bottom some old traditional truth, the general bearing of which may sometimes afford us a feeble clue in dark places, although any implicit reliance on the details would only lead us to error and confusion, even although we did not go the length of trusting them in opposition to more authentic records.

In the present case we find that the powerful Urien, whose undoubted supremacy over the whole northern Britons Taliessin, Lywarch-henn, and Nennius, one and all assert, appears as a mere vassal of Arthur's, owing to that hero the possession of his kingdom, which having been wrested from him by the Saxons, he received back as a gift from that mythical person. All this we throw aside as a mere legend. There remains, however, certain information as to the geographical position of the territories of Urien, which may assist our inquiries. In book ix, chap. 9, we are told: "There were there three brothers of royal blood, viz., Lot, Urien, and Angusel, who, before the Saxons had prevailed, held the government of these parts. Being willing therefore to bestow on these, as he did on others, the rights of their ancestors, he restored to Angusel the sovereignty over the Scots; his brother Urien he honoured with the sceptre of Mureif; and Lot...he reestablished in the consulship of Londonesia, and the other provinces belonging to him." From this it would appear that it was understood that the kingdom of Urien was situated in Scotland, consequently to the north of the wall, and therefore not in Cumberland. That however he was ever possessed of Mureif, or the modern Morayshire, is impossible. Lying to the north of what is known to have been the territories of the Scots and Picts, it could never have been in the possession of a British tribe in the time of Urien. Neither could he have been brought so prominently in collision with the Saxons of Northumberland, nor, when he fell, could his territories have become subject to that nation, separated as they would in that case have been by Edinburgh, Strathclyde, the Scots and the Picts. I strongly suspect that the word Mureif has been substituted by the chronicler for another, something similar, and the more readily that he thereby extended still further north the conquests of his favourite Arthur. It is more probable that the territories

of Urien were contiguous to those assigned to Lot, viz., the Lothians. In the *Annals of Ulster* we find, A.D. 637, "*Bellum Glíne MURESAN et obsessio Edin.*" Is it going too far to conjecture that this *Muresan* is the foundation of the Mureif of Geoffrey, or to hazard the suggestion that it still survives in the modern *Mearns*, the well-known name for the country lying on the lower part of the Tweed? Be that as it may, it is there that from other reasons I am inclined to place the kingdom of Reghed. I believe that it occupied the great and comparatively level basin of the Tweed, being bounded by the kingdom of Edin and the range of the Lammermuirs on the north, by the Selgovæ on the west, and by the Saxons, and, to a certain extent, the small British tribe of Argoed, which afterwards became incorporated with it, on the south. This locality completely coincides with the characteristics of Reghed above mentioned. It is a fertile and comparatively flat country, which might with no impropriety be called a cultivated plain. It brings Urien naturally into contact and collision with the Saxons as they advanced northwards. It places him in such a position, that we can readily conceive his making incursions as far south as the Farne Islands, and besieging Theoderick therein. Above all, when he fell, his territories would be at once open to the occupation of the Saxons, because they would be contiguous to their own possessions, and there would be no intervening obstacle of any kind. Again, the possession of Reghed, if that consisted of the basin of the Tweed, would interpose no barrier between the Britons of Guendota and the kingdom of Strathclyde, because the route of communication would still lie through the territories of kindred and friendly tribes. In fine, I would rest the soundness of this idea on the impossibility of finding any other situation for this kingdom, which will fulfil the whole conditions of the problem.

5. Guendota. This powerful tribe, ruled successively by Mailgown and the well-known Cadwalla, is admitted on all hands to have occupied Westmoreland and the north of Lancashire, to which I add Cumberland, instead of assigning it to Reghed. I am the more inclined to do this, because this kingdom would otherwise be too limited in extent for the important part it played in the history of

the period. Neutral in the early part of these wars, when it finally took up arms, it, single-handed, shook to the foundation the power of Northumberland, against which the whole of the intramural Britons, with the aid of the Scots, had been unable to make head, and this too when the boundaries, and consequently the strength of that kingdom, had been greatly extended and increased.

6th, and lastly, Argoed. This, from the notices in the bards, we learn was a mountainous district. It was the tribe over which Lywarch-henn was chief; but it was of so limited an extent that it could not maintain its independence against the Saxon without the aid of its more powerful neighbours. It was conterminous with both Reghed and Guendota, because Lywarch hesitated on which of these he should rely for protection, although he finally made choice of the former, and became an auxiliary, or even a vassal chief, of Urien's. It bordered on the Saxon territories; for it was the restless and predatory character of its inhabitants that gave occasion to at least one of the battles recorded by Taliessin: in fact, this character belongs to all mountain tribes in rude ages, as they find it easier to issue from their rocky fastnesses for the purpose of pillage, than to procure their own subsistence by the pursuits of agriculture, to which their country is unsuited. We also find the Saxons adopting the same expedient to restrain the predatory habits of this tribe, as was again and again resorted to by the Scottish kings under similar circumstances. Unable entirely to subdue this mountain tribe, but still able to make a momentary impression on them, they endeavoured to procure hostages who should be responsible for the future conduct of their clan; and it was the resistance to a demand of this kind that led to the battle of Argoed.

The strip of mountainous country which in its northern part separates Northumberland from the basin of the Tweed, and, further south, from the county of Cumberland, most fully corresponds with all the characteristics of Argoed. It is mountainous, and of great strength; it is contiguous to the Saxons, while touching both Reghed and Guendota. Indeed, when we observe its position on the map, it affords an explanation of the conduct of the latter kingdom throughout these transactions. At first, separated from the

Saxon by Argoed, they would not come into collision with them on their own account. Offended at Lywarch by the preference he had shown for the protection of Urien, they would not interfere for the defence of Argoed, and therefore maintained a sullen neutrality. When, however, Reghed and Argoed are overthrown, and occupied by the Saxon, whose frontier is thus brought up to theirs, but a brief period elapses before we find them engaged in an internecine war with Edwin and Oswald; from which the northern tribes in their turn stand aloof, in revenge for the former apathy of Guendota. And it is not until it is defeated in turn that common misfortune at last unites them in a league at the battle of Kaltraez: a cycle of events for which more than one parallel might be found in modern history.

(To be continued.)

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE CHRONICLE OF TYSILIO, AND ON THE TERRI- TORIES OF VORTIGERN.

BY BEALE POSTE.

As I am favoured with an opportunity of responding to Mr. Wakeman's remarks on the papers on Tysilio and Vortigern, in the *Journal* (vol. x, pp. 367-372), I beg to submit the following in reply. For brevity's sake, I chiefly advert to his observations on Tysilio, perceiving that, if his objections in that quarter be met, his difficulties with respect to the second subject will be removed as to some of the most material points.

Mr. Wakeman quotes the authority of the late Mr. Edward Williams, called otherwise Iolo Morganwg, one of the editors of the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, who supposed that Geoffrey of Monmouth practised a deception in affecting to have translated an ancient work brought from Armorica, and that there never was an original. He does so; but there needs not, however, aught else to show the captious

nature of his objections, than to observe that he did not convince his more learned coadjutor, the celebrated Owen Pughe, who certainly was a much greater authority in Cambrian literature than himself, and who held the existence of a prior history, from which Geoffrey translated. (See his *Cambrian Biography*, 12mo., 1803, p. 143.)

The proper title of the work of Tysilio is the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, or Chronicle of kings; and the points in question are,

I. Whether Geoffrey of Monmouth had an original, or were a forger altogether? And

II. Whether that original, or rather a close approximation to it, be still extant, and be that which is called at the present day the *Chronicle* or *History of Tysilio*? There is a copy of the work so styled in Jesus College, Oxford, inscribed with the name of Tysilio in the title; also another, though with variations of the text, in the handwriting of Guttyn Owain, a Cambrian poet and genealogist of eminence in the fifteenth century, still extant. (See Roberts' *Tysilio*, pp. xi and xii; and the *Cambrian Register*, 8vo., 1799, vol. ii, p. 489.)

Now, first, as to whether Geoffrey of Monmouth had an original? He asserts it in his preface, and, moreover, implicates the name of Robert duke of Gloucester in the assertion; also a copy in the public library at Berne, in Switzerland, is dedicated to king Stephen (see Appendix A to Mr. Cooper's *Report on Rymer's Fœdera*, p. 33). Thus he necessarily implicates that monarch as well. I will just ask, Would an author venture to dedicate a translation of a work to a royal duke, and, much more, to a king, if it were false that any such work existed? I may add, that the reality of such an original is always supposed by the vast majority of historians and critics, from the days of Geoffrey to the present time. In particular, it may be considered very conclusive that Gaimar, the Anglo-Norman poet, in his *Estorie des Engles*, written about the year 1150, and consequently within three years of the publication of Geoffrey's history, positively asserts it (see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 829); and I know not how it is possible to doubt the fact after his evidence. He is speaking of a copy of the *Brut y Brenhinoedd*, or chronicle of British kings, of Geoffrey of Monmouth, belonging to a person named Walter Espac, and his words are:

“Robert li quens de Gloucestre
 Fist translater icele geste,
 Solum les liveres as Waleis
 K'il aveient des Bretons reis.”

A few lines further on he connects the name of Walter Calenius with the work, whose name, in other sources, is so often mentioned in conjunction with it. He says:

“Le bon livre de Oxeford,
 Ki fust Walter l'arcediaen.”

The above conclusive evidence, we need not entertain any doubt, was entirely unknown to Iolo Morganwg.

There is another circumstance which should not be omitted. It is somewhat of a collateral nature, but tends to show that Geoffrey was not an inventor, but edited an original work. It was not so long before that his patron's grandfather, Rhys ap Tudor, had instituted the festival of the Round Table, at Neath in Glamorganshire. (See the *Iolo Manuscripts*, pp. 215, etc.) He had adopted the idea from Armorica; and it was, in fact, a minor species of chivalry or knighthood which he established. Now had Geoffrey of Monmouth been an inventor, a considerable scope would have been afforded him of introducing this legend of the Round Table into his chronicle, which was already connected with the popular history of Arthur. But though it was connected in his day, when he wrote,—that is, in the year 1147,—yet it was not so at the date when the *Chronicle of Tysilio* was written, in the year 1000; therefore, not finding it in his author, he passed it by altogether in his history, which may be taken as a proof of his fidelity, in this instance, to his original.

As to the second point, that we have a closely approximating copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's original history in the *Chronicle of Tysilio*, we have here only the internal evidences afforded by a comparison of the two works to guide us. Now many persons, forming their opinions too much in the gross, may have thoroughly confused the statistics of two works essentially connected, overlooked the lineal literary descent between them, and supposed the actual original only a varying copy of the subsequent secondary work. Few have laid the two side by side, and compared them. But the question which really concerns us, is, What is the opinion formed by those who have taken the pains to do

so? This is what we have to look to; and I believe but little support will be derived from those who have done this. As, however, I must be brief, I will cite some obvious characteristics of Geoffrey of Monmouth as an editor, which may be of much use in comprehending this question.

1. He had a singularity, that, though a Cambrian, he was entirely ignorant of the meaning of various ancient British words, which had been in use in the earlier periods of British history, and had been so as late as the date of the writing of the *Chronicle of Tysilio*, only one hundred and fifty years before his time. We will give a few instances under each head we mention, as we go on. In this case, as for his ignorance of archaic words, we observe that he did not know the meaning of the old word *ron*, a spear, out of use in his time, but made it (see his book ix, 4) a species of proper name. In the like way (book viii, 18), he mistranslates *celli* (cells) for hazel trees; and similarly, *Carytia* (Caer-Itia), book ii, 12, which the sense rather requires to be a sea-port, and which means, in fact, the noted Portus Itius, he mistakes for Lutetia, or Paris. There are various other instances of the same kind. This leads one,

2. To speak of his literary capabilities and attainments, which, as required for translating a work of this class, were but slender indeed. He was so ignorant of the history of his own country, that he did not know that Merlin the Caledonian (Merddin Wyllt), and Merlin the bard of Ambrosius (Merddin Emmrys), were two different persons (see his *Vita Merlini*, 4to., 1830, verses 682-4): and he was so ignorant of the geography of the island, that, as we may infer from his same poem, he confused the Maietæ of the northern parts with the Demetæ of South Britain. It may be asked how this could be, when he is spoken of by Caradoc of Lancarvan, his contemporary, as a man of great learning, and even, it is added, "the like not to be found" (see his words, as quoted by Owen Pughe in his *Cambrian Biography*, p. 143). The answer is, that his learning may be understood to have been the scholastic learning of his times; that is, metaphysics, logic, rhetoric, and a certain acquaintance with the classics. He was skilled in Latin versification it is plain, because he wrote the *Life of Merlin*, which is still preserved in the British Museum (*Vespasian*, E. iv, 1), in Latin metre, and was published by the Roxburghe

Club, 4to., 1830; but he had no historical, geographical, or antiquarian knowledge. Add to this, his judgment was so deficient that he continually endeavoured to introduce as much romance as possible; he altered the ancient names of places mentioned in his original for those which had grown up some centuries afterwards, and introduced various extraneous passages into the text without any notification of doing so. It may be concluded that Geoffrey of Monmouth was in the Anglo-Norman rather than the Cambrian interest, which may have a little diverted his studies from such topics as might more particularly have illustrated the ancient state of his country.

His defects as an editor may certainly be accounted for from the age in which he lived and the position in which he was placed; but as he republished quite an unique work,—a work of a past age, a work containing numerous details connected with ancient story nowhere else to be found, though, indeed, they often were of dubious veracity,—some, even close upon his own times, seem to have thought he had not done enough to illustrate his author and assist his reader. Thus we find John de Wallingford, who died in the year 1212, as quoted by Roberts in his edition of *Tysilio*, p. 5, says of him: “Ut Galfridus in translatione Historiæ Britonum, licet ex traduttore magis habet auctoritatem quam ex editore”; that is, “As Geoffrey writes in his translation of the *History of the Britons*, who, however, has more authority as a translator than as an editor”. We may now further set forth a few of the said peculiarities of Geoffrey’s translation, to exhibit some of the internal evidences which connect it with its original.

3. Latinizations. These include nearly every proper name, both of persons and places, though there are somewhat rare instances of Saxon appellations introduced. It may be objected that nothing is proved by citing this, as subsequent copyists may have altered Latin names to Celtic ones: but not so exactly. A copyist could not have forged Alysgapitulus from Asclepiodotus, or Belysgalys from Livius Gallus (compare *Tysilio*, p. 95, and *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, book v, 4). Equally difficult would it have been to have formed Gualchmai from Walganus, or Gweirryd from Arviragus (see *Tysilio*, pp. 48, 87, and *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, book ix, 9; and iv, 15). Asclepiodotus, Geoffrey of Mon-

mouth, of course, takes from Eutropius; Arviragus from Juvenal, and Walganus from French romances, which, in the year of the Christian era 1000, had no existence.

4. His additions to the original text. Many of these betray an Anglo-Norman feeling, which might have been looked for in many Cambrians in the twelfth century, but which scarcely could have been expected so early as the year 1000. In book xi, 12, he interpolates a passage condemnatory of the Britons for not having instructed the Saxons in Christianity. In book xii, 4, he adds another of Cadwalla (Cadwallon), cured of a disorder by eating human flesh. Tysilio, living one hundred and fifty years nearer to the times of Cadwallon, might have too obviously known this anecdote not to be true, even if inclined to introduce it. In book vii, he interpolates a long prophecy, called the "Prophecy of Merlin", which was a string of invented predictions, forged, it is believed, about sixty years before. These had reference to British and Norman affairs after the Conquest, and to admit them in his pages he strikes out the "Prophecy of the Eagle", as it is called, as in the more ancient chronicle (*Tysilio*, p. 39), on the ground, as he says, of its not being true. He tells us this because, as we find from Fordun (see Mr. Roberts' note, *loco citato*), the purport of it was, that the Britons and Caledonians should unite and conquer the Saxons; which might have suited Tysilio, but did not correspond with the translator's political views. Again, he interpolates, in book iv, 16, an account of a victory in Westmoreland, gained by Marius or Meurig, a British king, recorded by an inscription. In regard to which, to notice a circumstance of that kind is more in character with the twelfth century than with the end of the tenth.

5. His modernisations of the names of persons and places seem to be such as show a translator, not an author. For instance, instead of "Galabes in Ewias" (*Tysilio*, p. 127), he has (book viii, 10) "Galabes in the country of the Gewissians or West Saxons". It is unlikely that a Cambrian writer of the date of Tysilio would have said so. There are other modernisations, as the word "gawr", used idiomatically to signify a prince, translated "giant", and "Tywysog", a prince, translated "consul", which, though an ancient term was much in modern use. He also sometimes

uses this word to imply leader or general only. In this last sense we have it (book vi, 6), "Vortigernus Consul Gewisiorum", where it means that he was ruler of certain territories which the West Saxons afterwards had. I may here take occasion to say, in reference to Mr. Wakeman's objection, that we are not to consider that Geoffrey of Monmouth pronounces these to have been his original patrimonial territories; but it appears from his *Vita Merlini* (verses 987-990), that he is to be understood that Vortigern, the king's officer having sway over these districts at the time of his usurpation, afterwards obtained the kingdom of South Britain.

The foregoing passages, which must suffice for a more extensive collation, appear to confirm our previous views, and to throw light collaterally on the origin of Geoffrey's work. They certainly tend to make it appear that he took it from the chronicle now called that of Tysilio, and that the same is not one of the varying copies of his own production. I will recapitulate thus: we may gather from his own assertion, from his two dedications, from the testimonies of his contemporaries, and those shortly succeeding him, from Gaimar, from John de Wallingford, and from Guttyn Owain taking the pains to make his copy, which, had he supposed Geoffrey of Monmouth to have been the original author, would have been utterly valueless, that he translated from a primary and original chronicle; and I have shown in my paper on Tysilio (vol. x, pp. 231-236), that the chronicle known as the *Chronicle of Tysilio*, was suitable, from the general tenor of its contents, to have been written in the year 1000, and to have been the actual original. The few passages in the chronicle itself which I have referred to as above, will, I think, be found conclusive to strengthen that belief.

I have compressed as much as possible the subject of Tysilio; I must be briefer still with that of Vortigern. It is not pretended that the *Chronicle of Tysilio* is an indubitable authority on any point, but only a presumptive one. It may be considered to be so without violence in our present case, as there is nothing that contradicts or invalidates its evidence: and if it be shown to be a prior history to that of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*,—to be his original, in fact,—what then? Why its plain language should be received as

due proof, with the qualification as before, that Vortigern perished at the castle of the governor in Erging. Nennius shows the correctness of the interpretation, who uses the term "guoronagon", i.e., governor or ruler (c. xxxvii), and this word William of Malmesbury transformed to Gorongus, taking it as a proper name. Here, indeed, in one sense, William of Malmesbury was not much in error; official names and names of governments being frequently convertible with personal names among the Cambrians, as Morganwg, Gwynedd, and others. Mr. Wakeman will, I think, thus see that the case is altered, and that the names Gonoreu or Gannereu, which now stand in various copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history or translation, are but his or some other persons' corruptions of the text.

Now to follow this point up. The governor's castle, or the castle of the government of Erging, the modern Arconfield or Archenfield, if Ariconium were its capital, would, of course, be it. Why? Because Vortigern's city, according to Nennius styled *Caer-Vortigern*, and placed by that author in his list of the twenty-eight principal cities of Britain, which at that time contained, by the account of Ravennas, two or three hundred towns, stations, and places of note, must needs itself have been a town of importance. This agrees with Ariconium, but neither with *Caer-Guortigern* in Radnorshire, nor with Gonoreu in Herefordshire, which were but hill-forts. Want of space prevents me from showing what is, perhaps, not a disputable point, that Ariconium, wherever it be situated, was the capital of Erging, and consequently Vortigern's capital.

With regard to Blestium. This, of which the varied orthography is Blescium and Glescium, must be placed on the Eskel. Its derivation from the Eskel is apparent; the same as the contiguous places, Burrium and Isca, were severally derived from the streams Birthin and Isca. Even the more modern name Monmouth is from the Minnow, that name being Minnow-mouth. But the idea has suggested itself, since the former paper, that it is very possible the whole stream, of which the Minnow is now the lower part, might formerly have been called the Eskel. If so, if proof can be adduced on this point, all reasonable objections would be removed, and Blestium may be considered as correctly placed at or about Monmouth.

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 24, 1855.

T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were elected :

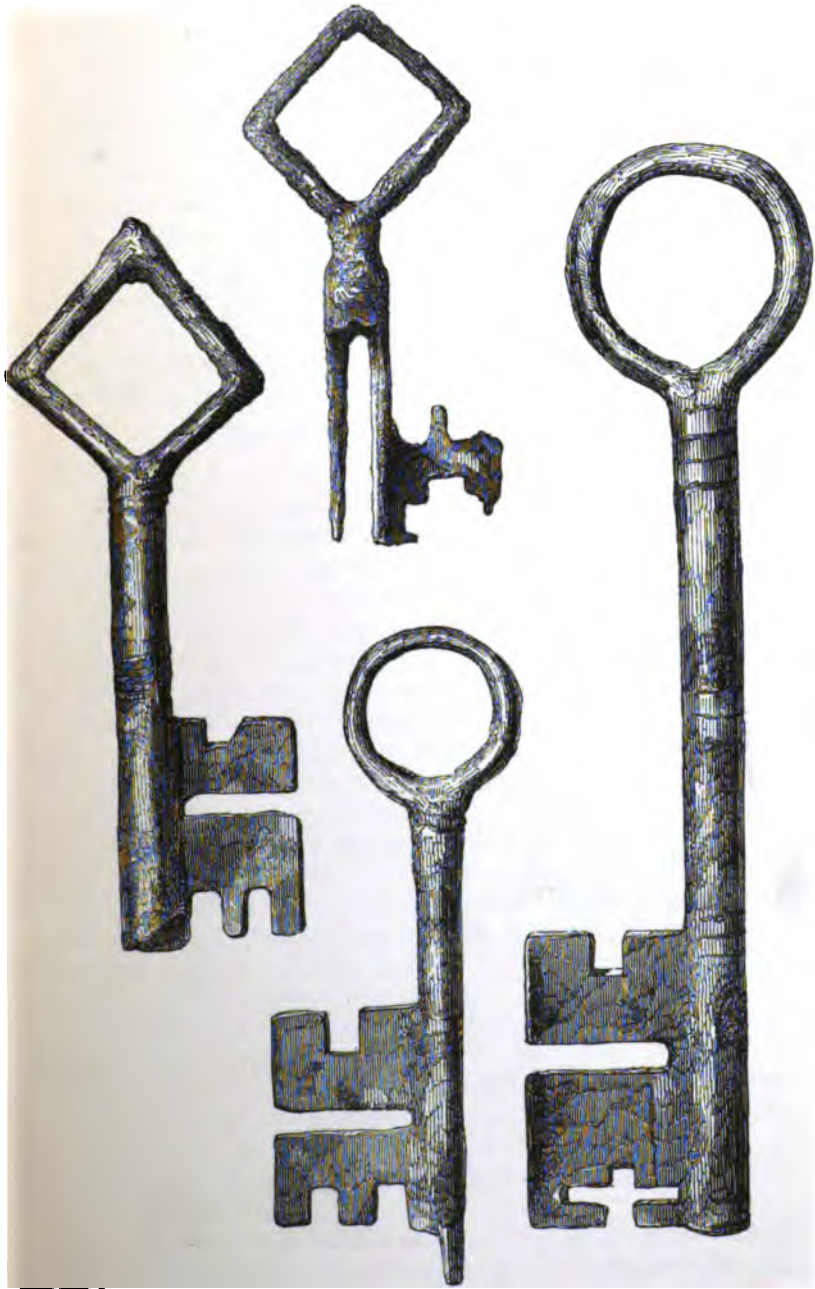
William Addison Combs, esq., 1, Holland-road, Kensington.
 Edmund W. Ashbee, esq., 22, Bedford-street, Covent-garden.
 Samuel Wood, esq., 8, Hamilton-place, Brixton-road.
 George Eaton, esq., 59, Stamford-street.
 George Virtue, esq., 18, Finsbury-square.
 W. Digby Seymour, esq., 29, Thurloe-square.
 Rev. George Stokes, B.D., Hereford Lodge, Brompton.
 Rev. John Young, D.D., ditto.
 Lieut. Driver, R.M., Forton barracks, Gosport.
 Francis Henry Rich, esq., 2, Spanish-place, Manchester-square.
 John Myers, esq., 40, Princes-street, Piccadilly.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Royal Society. Their Proceedings. No. VII. 8vo.
From the Cambrian Archæological Society. Their Journal. No. XX. Oct.
 1854. 8vo.
From the Editor. The Gentleman's Magazine for January. 8vo.
From Mr. H. Syer Cuming. A Catalogue of Mexican Antiquities. 8vo.
From Mr. Ll. Jewitt. Various woodcuts of antiquities.

Mr. John Turner exhibited some antiquities lately discovered at Gloucester, consisting of a portion of pavement formed of small yellowish-white, gray, and red tesserae, and four bronze keys, apparently Roman. These are figured in Plate 5. Two of them are remarkable for having lozenge-shaped bows,—a form not uncommon in mediæval keys, but believed to be very rare in those of the Roman period. These specimens, and one also with an annular bow, are piped keys; the other example is spiked.

Mr. Turner also exhibited a curious Armenian shoe, about a century old, formed of dull reddish-brown leather, and eleven inches in length.



BRONZE KEYS FOUND AT GLOUCESTER.

It is square-toed, and has a broad piece stitched up the back. The sole and heel are composed of thin layers of leather sewed together with rather broad thongs.

Mr. Thomas Gunston produced a fragment of a tile of red terra-cotta, bearing the impress of a sheep's hoof. It was obtained, in 1849, from one of the pillars of the hypocaust belonging to the Roman villa discovered at Wheatley in Oxfordshire. The situation of this villa is at no considerable distance from that which was discovered at Headington, and described in the *Journal* of the Association, vol. vi, pp. 52-67.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a small specimen of oak carving of the seventeenth century, representing the upper part of a boy holding a basket of flowers. It was found in 1854, in making some repairs in the Chequers inn, Mercery-lane, Canterbury, where, it is said, Chaucer and his companions lodged when they wended their way—

“The holy blisful martir for to seke.”

Mr. Planché, hon. sec., exhibited letters patent of Henry duke of Exeter, “granting the office of constable of his castle of Quenehope to Thomas Clotton; dated at Tembie (Tenby), 12 April, 39 Henry VI [1461]: ‘Henricus dux Excestre comes Huntingdon et de Evory, admirallus Anglie, dominus de Spar, et constabularius turris London. Omnibus ad quos presentes litere nostre pervenerint salutem. Sciatis nos pro bono servicio quod dilectus serviens noster Thomas Clotton nobis impenso (*sic*) et imposterum impendend. (*sic*) dedisse et concessisse eidem Thome officium constabularij castri nostri de Quenehope. Habend. et occupand. dict. officium per se vel per sufficientem deputatum suum ad terminum vite sue, percipiend. inde pro vadijs et feod. suis pro officio predicto iiiij^{or} denar. per diem per manus receptorum ballivorum vel firmariorum ibidem pro tempore existen. ad terminos ibidem usuales, et cum alijs omnimod. proficijs et commoditatibus eidem officio debet. et consuet. Quare volumus et mandamus omnibus et singulis tenentibus et ministris nostris ibidem existen. quod eidem Thome in exercend. officium suum predict. sint obedient. favorantes et auxiliantes prout decet. In cuius rei testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum est appositum. Dat. apud villam Tembie duodecimo die Aprilis, anno regni regis Henrici sexti, post conquestum tricesimo nono.’—(Signed) EXCESTER H.” Indorsed by a hand of the time of James I, thus: “A g^t of the cunstableship of the castle of Quenehope to Rich. Clutton, by the duke of Excester, dat. ap^d Tembie.” The seal attached is in beautiful condition, and surrounded by a rush. It was presented by Mr. Hanna to Mr. Planché, who has deposited it in the collection of the Association.

A paper by Mr. George Hillier was read, giving an account of excavations made at Brightstone and Bowcombe downs, in the Isle of Wight, in August last. (See pp. 34-40 *ante*.)

Mr. Saull made the following observations in relation to Mr. Hillier's researches :

"I feel very much gratified, in common with all the members who are present at this meeting, at the reading of the excellent paper we have just heard, relating to the opening of some barrows in the Isle of Wight; and perhaps I feel a more lively interest than some other members, in what relates to this particular locality, because I have been a constant visitor to that island, and name among my personal acquaintance several members of the archæological society at Ryde, and also that at Newport, who both act independently in collecting antiquities, etc., and yet are frequently united in their exploring expeditions.

"On my visit last spring, I particularly noticed, in the museum of the society at Ryde, a large quantity of fragments of human bones, which had been exhumed from some tumuli on the higher range of the hills; which discovery has, I think, been printed and circulated by the society there, and most of the bones had been then named by a medical gentleman, a resident of Ryde. Their museum is very rich in ancient remains, and will well repay the attention of the visitor. The locality whence these bones were exhumed differs materially from that which has been alluded to this evening: the one being of the British or Celtic period, the other of the Saxon, which I purpose to refer to subsequently. The spot whence the bones in the museum at Ryde were exhumed, is (if I mistake not) the highest range of hills, which intersects the island from east to west; and on this range many large barrows are found, which, from their form and position, evidently belonged to the aboriginal British or Celtic races, those tribes always selecting the most elevated spots for funereal purposes. The entire absence of any coins, but the occasional discovery of rude but large urns, indicate the period of these interments to be of the later British period; probably two or three centuries before the Roman conquest of Britain. A very large and rudely-shaped urn from these upper ridges has been several years in the museum at the Town Hall of Newport.

"It is somewhat remarkable that, although this island must have been of considerable importance to the Romans as an outlying maritime station, and by whom it had its distinguishing name, *Væctis*, yet very few of the remains of that enterprising people are found. A small number of coins only, and fragments of pottery, constitute, I believe, all the memorials of the Roman occupation; yet in the subsequent stage, to which Mr. Hillier's paper refers, namely the Saxon period, many examples occur. Their tumuli are found spread over the minor range of the hills, extending irregularly from north to south: such is the range in question, proceeding from Carisbrook towards Freshwater. Independently of those tumuli that have been opened within a few years, and those to which the paper before us refers, a considerable number are found extending on both sides

of the path on the down descending to the hotels at Freshwater, from the north-east, whose small elevation above the surface fully proves them to belong to this period. On my last visit there, I noticed that several of them had been opened; but I did not learn the result.

"Judging, then, from the drawings and sketches now exhibited, I have no hesitation in assigning these reliques to the middle Saxon period, that is, subsequent to the Pagan, and about the advent of Christianity in Britain; most probably about the year 650 or 700 of our era. I am strongly induced to come to this conclusion from observing the peculiar shape and characteristic ornaments on one of the urns, because they so closely resemble in their particulars very many others that I have inspected in various parts of Britain.

"It appears a well-established fact, that, during the long period of the Saxon occupation of these realms, interments took place both by inhumation and cremation,—either practice was adopted by the survivors: at all events we must give them credit for the prudence and good sense they displayed (even in those comparatively barbarous times) in removing the remains of their dead far away from the habitations of the living. The practice of burials in or near churches most probably dates from the Norman conquest.

"A tradition is extant in the Isle of Wight, that Carisbrook Castle is of Saxon construction; but a close inspection I made with the late governor, Mr. Dennett, convinced us that it was constructed, as well as its peculiar keep, subsequent to the Norman conquest, as a baronial stronghold for the governor of the whole island originally; but subsequently many additions to it have been made, but nothing except internal alterations to some of the apartments has been added subsequent to the captivity therein of the unfortunate monarch Charles I."¹

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., read the following paper:—

"ON FRAUDS IN ARCHÆOLOGY.

"The love of classic art, which accompanied the revival of letters towards the close of the fifteenth century, was not without its attendant evils. In the twilight of this revival, the thirst for antiquarian lore was endeavoured to be satisfied, or rather pampered and vitiated, by polluted draughts of chicanery, artifice, and deception. No sooner had knowledge been resuscitated, no sooner had it emerged from the sepulchre of ages, than it was prostituted to the purposes of forgery and fraud, and fictitious relics of the early times of Greece and Rome were freely offered and eagerly accepted by the too confiding virtuoso. The cabinets of many of the Italian States still bear testimony to this lamentable fact. It is im-

¹ The autumnal congress of the Association will afford an opportunity of examining several of the tumuli in the island, and of making other excavations, which promise to be of exceeding interest.

possible to say who led the van in this nefarious trade, but it is well known that amongst the earliest and most successful forgers of the sixteenth century were a Paduan family; two members of which, Giovanni del Cavino, and his son Alessandro Bassiano, produced medals almost equal in design and execution to the works of the *monetarii* of the palmy days of the Cæsars. At a later period Michael Dervieu, a Frenchman, was one of the most skilful counterfeiters of his age.¹ But the forgers of Italy and France did not confine themselves to the fabrication of coins and medals. The gods of Egypt, the mythic and historic heroes of Greece and Rome, gems, trinkets, arms, and terracottas, uncouth and undecipherable inscriptions and nondescript articles of every form and device issued from their *ateliers* in great profusion, and are still occasionally met with in the hands of curiosity dealers of this country and the continent.

"Italy has ever been the hotbed of forgery. It is believed by many that Rome gave birth to the noted *Isiac* or *Bembine tablet* in the first quarter of the sixteenth century; and in more recent days the famous, or to speak more correctly, the infamous '*Malla stone*', describing the submerged *Atlantis*, owed its being to Italian fraud.

"The facility with which clay may be wrought into strange forms and coloured of various hues, has led the Italian forgers to work most extensively in this material; and some of their ceramic productions are really very beautiful. Mr. Gibbs has kindly placed before us a candelabrum or candlestick of Italian workmanship, which was evidently intended for, and was long esteemed as, a classic antique. The lower part is bifrons, one head being that of a sphinx surrounded by a *calathus*, in which is the socket for the taper. The other head is that of a bull, in whose mouth is held the head of a snake, its tail resting on the breast of the bull, thus forming a loop-handle. This truly elegant specimen is of well-baked terracotta, four and a quarter inches high, painted green and bronzed with great care to give it the appearance of metal. From the purity of design and high finish, it may probably be as old as the close of the sixteenth or of the early part of the seventeenth century.

"It was but a few years since that an Italian, resident in London, employed himself in counterfeiting figures and other articles in terracotta, and met with considerable encouragement from a dealer in curiosities, at whose house I have examined dozens of his works, and one of which I now exhibit as a sample of his craft. It is a *lucerna bilychnis*, or lamp for two wicks, with a loop-formed *ansa* or handle rising up on each side, and the top embellished with an impression from an oval Greek gem.

"Whilst speaking of spurious terracottas let me observe, that a number of large clumsy imitations of the black embossed wares of *Cere* or *Agylla*,

¹ An ingenious instance of a recent numismatic fraud is figured in the *Journal*, iii, p. 121, in which a common British coin is converted, by the help of the graver, into a unique type of Cunobelinus.

and *Clusium*, are now finding their way from the continent into the English market, and in some instances realizing most extravagant prices. From the manner these vases are brought forward they are evidently intended to pass for originals, and must not be classed with the beautiful copies of classic works by our own inimitable Wedgwood, or those of the Neapolitan potter Mollica; most of their productions have their names stamped upon the clay, so that there can be no intention of fraud, and but slight danger of any one taking them for true antiques, though an instance is known in 1849 of some of Mollica's vases being offered for public sale as genuine Etruscan terracottas.

"The same parties who are importing the false wares of *Agylla* and *Clusium*, are also bringing hither many imitations of those rare and beautiful vases and *unguentaria* of blue glass striped with white and yellow, which are met with in the tombs of Thebes, and which but a few years back commanded prices varying from £20 to £40 apiece. These persons are also glutting the market with glass vessels, repaired and made up with fragments of various ages, held together with plaster of Paris, frosted over with the iridescent scales scraped from ancient pieces. The work is performed so artfully that the eye will not always detect the cheat, but a penknife easily removes the adventitious coat and exposes the place and means of juncture; and we thus discover that the perfect vessel is a mass of patchwork, that the ancient Greek cup is mounted upon the foot of a Venetian goblet, and the rich handles which adorn a bowl from Melos were manufactured at Murano in the seventeenth century.

"Frauds in porcelain are still more common than those of glass. A piece of old Chinese porcelain, in its pure and genuine state, is becoming almost a rarity, so general has been the practice of painting the fine old white porcelain of *Fokien* with gaudy colours, and adorning with various hues the simple blue and white dishes, cups and vases of *Nankin*, under the false idea that they add beauty to them, and command a more ready sale and higher price. Porcelain so treated is known in the trade as *doctored*, *tickled*, and *clobered* china. This vicious practice commenced in Holland in the seventeenth century, and soon spread to England. A good deal of oriental porcelain was repainted and decorated at Chelsea with some taste, but the great majority of specimens we now meet with are *clobered* in a rude vulgar style. Derby china is occasionally seen bearing the cross-swords of the Dresden porcelain, and the gilt anchor of the finest kind of Chelsea china frequently masks the red anchor of the inferior sort. 'Raffaelle ware' is now being extensively manufactured in the Netherlands; it is, however, easily detected by its print-like outline and shades, and want of assimilation of colour to the genuine examples.

"The forgers of the past and present times have been nearly as busy with metal as with clay, and some of their productions are exceedingly curious. I will cite a few examples. A large sword, palpably an Italian

counterfeit of the close of the sixteenth or commencement of the seventeenth century, formed lot 349 of a sale at Sotheby and Wilkinson's rooms, on August 3rd, 1854. Both blade and hilt were of bronze, the whole being cast in one piece. The hilt was adorned with eagles, etc., and the broad falcion-shaped blade channeled on each side, with a thick ridge along the back. It bore on one side an inscription in relief, by which it was made to appear to have been wrought, either for or in the reign of the emperor Vespasian, when he held the tribunitian power for the sixth time :—*Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus Augustus Pontifex Maximus tribunitia potestate sextum imperator.*

IMP
CÆSAR · VES
PASIANVS
AVG · PONT
IF · MX · TBI
B · POT · VI
IMP.

On the other side were the words,—

ARTEM
IAI
OREIT.

“Our associate, Mr. T. Gunston, has obligingly furnished me for exhibition, with an Italian forgery of the seventeenth century, in a spurious Roman lamp of bronze, which was stated by the vendor to have been discovered in a Roman villa in Buckinghamshire in the year 1853; but on my own knowledge I can affirm that it was in the hands of a dealer in antiquities as far back as the year 1849, and my belief is that the party at whose sale he purchased it brought it from the continent about the year 1841. The body of this lamp is of a circular form, the margin decorated with thirty-two denticulations: the *myxa* or beak has a stout rim, and the handle rises in an elegant triparted scroll. The material more resembles what is designated cock-metal (two parts copper to one of lead) than classic bronze; its thickness is far greater than that of genuine Roman *lucernæ*, and the ærugo is composed of green wax and verdigris.

“Some of our members will probably remember a heavy clumsy sword of bronze, which Mr. G. Isaacs laid before the Association on September 8th, 1847, and which may now be referred to as an example of modern French forgery. This sword was stated to have been discovered in the bed of the Seine. It had a broad taper blade some twenty inches in length, resembling the mediæval *anelax* in form. The cross-guard was lunar-shaped, and the circular-grooved grip surmounted by a globular pommel. This sword was obtained at Rouen, and was probably manufactured in that city.¹

“The practice of producing modern forgeries as recently-discovered

¹ See *Journal*, iii, p. 251.

antiques, has now become a chronic disease in London. So far back as January 1827, a modern vessel in the form of a satyr's head, which had stood for months in the shop of a broker in Lambeth Marsh, was sold as a genuine relic of Roman times, and professed to have been discovered in sinking one of the coffer-dams for the new London Bridge, embedded in clay, at a depth of about thirty feet from the bed of the river. An engraving and account of this barefaced fraud is given in Hone's *Table Book* (i, p. 267), where it is stated to be '*destined for the British Museum*'!

"I have now to call attention to another and more recent instance of a double cheat, a forgery and fictitious find. We are indebted to Mr. T. Gunston for the exhibition of a bronze *pugio* or dagger; it is cast in one piece, and measures about seven inches in length and weighs seven and a half ounces avoirdupois. The blade is leaf-shaped, having a strong central ridge on each side, with a somewhat lunate *mora* or guard, the points of which are directed downwards: the *capulus* or grip is annulated, and the pommel globular. The precious *ærgo* is imitated with green paint, and lead has been cast upon the hilt. No specimen can be more unmistakeably a modern fabrication than this example, and yet the scoundrel who sold it to Mr. Gunston declared it to be a genuine Roman dagger, which he had himself discovered in an excavation in Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street.

"Fictitious finds are little less reprehensible than fabricated antiquities. Cannon Street has gained an unenviable notoriety for disgorging relics which its soil had never entombed, and Nicholas Lane bids fair to rival its neighbour in this way. With the modern-antique dagger was said to be discovered the bronze *armilla*, which Mr. Gunston also exhibits, and which is a fine and perfect example of Etruscan workmanship. The outside is convex, and decorated with a few incuse zigzag ornaments. It does not form a complete circle, but is cleft, the ends terminating in flattish bosses. This *armilla* was brought from Italy a few years back, and was found, I believe, at Canino.

"Mr. Gunston exhibits another specimen, of no worth in itself, and yet of some value as a link in this chain of iniquity. It is the circumference of a rather thin iron wheel, nearly five inches in diameter, the edge of which is dentated. It appears to have been part of some jack-work. This wheel is declared by an excavator to have been found in Trinity Lane in 1853, together with an old delft plate. Neither the one nor the other were discovered in this locality. The plate has never been inhumed, and the wheel was fished out of the Thames either in the year 1848 or 1849.

"These specimens may be taken as fair samples of the antiquities professed to have been brought to light in different parts of the city; we might increase their number, but we have here sufficient for our purpose. And let me remark that it is an important point to observe in this inquiry, that whether the specimens be affirmed to be discovered in Cannon Street

or Walbrook, in Budge Row or Basing, Nicholas, or Trinity Lanes, whether they be sold to Mr. Ainslie or Mr. Gunston, by either of the two excavators whose names and persons are well known, they are one and all traceable to a familiar source. And whilst we refrain from publishing the name or place of residence of the party who has supplied the excavators with these several articles, we nevertheless trust that the exposure now made will have the desired effect, and that he will no longer mix himself up in these most nefarious dealings.

"Our warmest thanks are due to Mr. Ainslie for first furnishing us with materials for this inquiry, and to Mr. Gunston for having so willingly and so untiringly watched and traced the progress of these frauds. It is but just to the latter gentleman to state that, at my suggestion, he has paid repeated visits to the excavators at their own dwellings, and generously—I may say patriotically—expended both time and money in accumulating proof upon proof of the foul conspiracy organized and waged against the metropolitan archæologists.

"These brief remarks on frauds in archæology might be extended to a far greater length, were it necessary. It would, indeed, be no difficult task to point out the many frauds which have been, and are still, practised in regard to Egyptian antiquities, from the golden necklace of king Menes, and the six large scarabæi of amethyst, made, in 1837, in the vicinity of Drury-lane, to be sent to Russia, down to the fragments of papyri rolled up by the modern Arabs, of which our vice-president, Dr. Lee, exhibited some examples at the congress held at Derby in 1851. We might, too, refer to the basalt and flint celts and arrow-blades now manufactured in Ireland and Yorkshire; but it is really sickening to linger longer over these vile and despicable practices.¹

"Perhaps it may be thought by some of our associates that we are wasting time and labour, and exceeding our prescribed province, in dwelling thus upon modern forgeries and fictitious finds; but surely the facts which have been adduced on this and former occasions,² offer a salutary warning not altogether valueless, and which should not be lost upon us. They teach us to be ever watchful and guarded; they direct us to a more critical examination of things and statements, and tell us not to receive as implicit truth every tale which the pretended discoverer of antiquities

¹ Some men are prompted to forge and lie for the sake of pelf, and some have not even this poor and pitiful excuse, but, out of mere wanton mischief, condescend to sacrifice friendship, truth, and honour, for the idle, worthless pleasure of a hoax,—one painful and memorable instance of which is the *Marmor Hardknuteense*, made by Steevens, in 1789, as a trap for Mr. Gough, and which was stated to have been discovered in Kennington-lane, and purported to be a memorial, in four lines, of king Hardknute, who died at Lambeth in the year 1041. For engravings of, and remarks on, this stone, see *European Magazine*, April 1, 1790; and *Gent. Mag.*, March 1790, p. 217; April, p. 290; and August 1834, p. 214.

² See *Journal*, ix, p. 89-92, and p. 199.

would palm upon his victims, and by which means he at once inflicts a wrong upon our faith, robs us of our money, creates suspicion and distrust, and heaps ridicule, discredit, and contempt, upon the science of archæology."

FEBRUARY 14.

F. H. DAVIS, Esq., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

The Earl of Perth and Melfort, Brunswick-square, Brighton.

Charles Bishop, esq., 8, Devonshire-road, Wandsworth.

As corresponding members :

William Douglas Bennett, esq., Malta.

Charles Dew, esq., Bath.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Suffolk Institute of Archæology. Their Proceedings. Vol. 11. Part 2. 8vo.

From the Editor. The Gentleman's Magazine for February. 8vo.

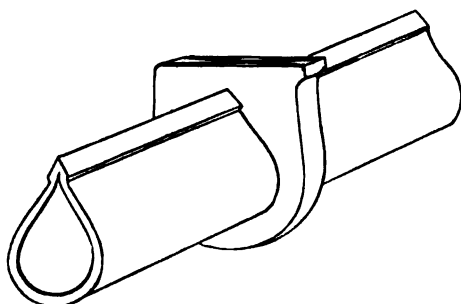
From the Author. The Law of Bills of Sale. By C. Egan, esq. Lond., 1855. 12mo.

Mr. Alfred Thompson communicated the following particulars of a lead water-pipe dug up in Old Broad-street, City, in 1854 :

"In the early part of the last year, some men belonging to the Chartered Gas Company were engaged in laying down iron pipes in Old Broad-street, City, between Austin Friars and Threadneedle-street; and in the course of excavating the ground for the above purpose, discovered a quantity of lead pipe at a depth of about 3 feet 6 inches from the surface.

"As is usual in such cases of 'treasure trove', the greatest proportion of the 'find' was appropriated by the men, and soon liquidated; but a small length of it fell into the hands of a friend of mine, who kindly presented me with a portion, a drawing (see annexed cut) and description of which I lay before the meeting for their opinion as to its antiquity and connexion with the early supply of water to London.

"The pipe, which is three inches in bore, is made from a flat cast lead plate five-sixteenths of an inch thick, and then rolled up into the shape shown in the drawing; the two edges forming an apex, and joined together by a fillet of solder.



"The pipes are connected together in lengths by a joint, which is rather curious, and very different from any method adopted in modern times. The ends of the lead pipes being brought fair to each other, a quantity of molten lead is poured round the junction, being retained by a band or mould, which is removed after the metal has cooled, and then serves for the consecutive joinings of the pipe. On the flat top of the joint are two chisel marks, diagonally, to give it a finished appearance. They strongly resemble the lines so commonly met with upon Roman tiles.

"The pipe is in a good state of preservation, and has the sectional form and make of the Roman 'fistula'; but the joint is different from any that I have seen depicted, and I am more inclined (from the shallow depth at which it was found) to think it one of the ancient conduit pipes which supplied London, probably from the 'Tunne' in Cornhill, where, according to Stow, *'in the year 1401 was made a cisterne for sweet waters conveyed by pipes of lead from Tybourne, and was from thenceforth called the Conduit in Cornhill'*; or perhaps a branch supply-pipe to some minor conduit in the vicinity.

"Mention is made of a conduit being erected in Bishopsgate-street, in the year 1513; but the form of lead pipes at this period was circular. The pipe exhibited must therefore have been of an anterior date to this conduit."

It was suggested that the pipe may have formerly supplied St. Austin's monastery, in that neighbourhood.

Mr. G. Vere Irving laid before the meeting a plate of delft-ware, about eight inches and three-quarters in diameter, on which is depicted a half-length full-faced portrait of Catherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II. She wears the royal crown; a necklace and pendant jewel adorn her breast, upon which her long and flowing locks descend; the stomacher has a yellow stripe down the centre, with a broad red one on each side; and the sleeves are very ample. On one side of the head is the letter C, on the other R, for *Catharina Regina*. Although the execution of the painting on this plate is rather rude, it bears nevertheless a striking resemblance to the portraits of her majesty, and is a highly interesting relic of the days of the "merry monarch".

Mr. Horman-Fisher exhibited, in further illustration of Mr. H. Syer Cuming's paper on archæological frauds, a singular bottle of terra-cotta, six inches in height, made in imitation of the black, glossy ware of Nola. Had this vessel been antique, it would be unique, no such form ever being found among the Ceramic productions of Magna Græcia.

Mr. Gibbs submitted for inspection two seated images of Chinese philosophers, carved in *wha-she*, or agalmatolite. The one holds in its right hand a large fruit, and in the left a long staff. The other figure grasps the *joo-yee* (granter of wishes), a species of sceptre, given as a complimentary present by grantees to visitors, and of which frequent mention is made in the novels of the Chinese.

Mr. Planché, hon. sec., exhibited, by permission of Mr. Pratt of Bond-street, a visored bascinet, with camail attached, of the fourteenth century. It resembled, in some degree, the one previously exhibited, and figured and described in the eighth volume of the *Journal*, page 354; but Mr. Planché considered this specimen earlier in point of date, and much more perfect than the former, the visor of which was supposed to be of a later period than the bascinet. As in that instance, however, Mr. Planché called the attention of the meeting to the well-known Hastings' brass, the armed figures on which wear vizored bascinets precisely corresponding to the one exhibited.

Mr. Thomas Gunston exhibited an extensive collection of clay tobacco pipes, discovered between 1849 and 1854, principally in the city of London, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., read the following report:

"The collection consists of fifty-two specimens, which range from a period almost coeval with the introduction of tobacco into this country, down to the reign of George I.

"Of the age of Elizabeth or James I we have an example found in Watling Street in 1852. It, like all pipes of this period, is of an exceedingly small size, and superior both as regards clay and make to those of more recent date. At the base of the bowl is a spur, a feature rarely met with among the earlier specimens.

"Of pipes of the reign of James I or Charles I there are four examples. It will be perceived that the bowls are of a larger size than our first specimen. At the base of one of the two discovered in George Street, Tower Hill, July 1852, is stamped the initials G·C. within the outline of a heart. The other pipes were exhumed in Goswell Street and at Hampstead.

"Three specimens, of the time of Charles I or the Commonwealth, exhibit a greater amplitude of bowl, and a gradual decadence in material and manufacture from the pipes of Elizabeth's reign. They were found in Cannon Street, Aldermanbury, and at Aston in Oxfordshire.

"Of pipes which are certainly of the time of the Commonwealth (1649-60) there are three examples. The bowls show a decided increase in size. One of the specimens was discovered at Aston, Oxfordshire, in 1849, the other in Cannon Street and George Street, Tower Hill.

"We now arrive at a period when smoking became not merely a luxury and a fashion, but was regarded as an absolute necessity—namely, the period of the "*Great Plague*", which commenced December 1664 and continued until Jan. 1666. From the vast quantity of pipes met with in London which are known to belong to the time of this awful visitation, it would appear that almost every person who ventured from home invoked the protection of tobacco. The collection contains no less than twenty pipes of the time of Charles II (1660-85), fifteen of them being discovered in one locality—namely, George Street, Tower Hill, in July 1852. The remaining five specimens are from Aldermanbury and Cannon

Street. One, from the latter locality, having upwards of six inches of the straight stem still remaining attached to the bowl.

"The barrel-formed pipe-bowl seems to have altogether ceased in the reign of James II, and with the "*Glorious Revolution*" of 1668 commenced a new form of bowl, much longer and more elegant in shape than any previously in vogue: the stem itself was also much stouter in make. The collection furnishes nine examples of the time of William III. Five are from George Street, Tower Hill, the other four from Cannon Street, King William Street, the Thames, and Hampstead.

"Of pipes possibly of the close of king William's reign, but more probably belonging to his successor, queen Anne, there are six specimens; one of them worthy of special note on account of the stem being impressed with four rings. It was found with another of the same date in George Street, Tower Hill. The other examples are from Cannon Street and Goswell Street.

"The concluding group consists of six pipes of the time of queen Anne or George I. Four of them are from Cannon Street, the other two from George Street, Tower Hill, and Aldermanbury. They have tall ample bowls, and on the sides of the truncated spur of one from Cannon Street are the letters s·h.

"With these old English pipes may be associated two figures moulded in pipeclay at Gouda, in Holland, and evidently intended to mount with metal bases for tobacco-stoppers. They are about two inches in height, and both are habited in the costume of the close of the seventeenth century. One figure is that of a market woman with a close-fitting cap, bodice laced across the front, short sleeves, and carrying a basket on her right arm. The other figure represents a gentleman wearing a dome-crowned broad brimmed hat, cloak reaching to the knees, the right hand tucked into the breast of a long straight-cut coat, and full knee-breeches: in fact, a personification of—

"An honest man close buttoned to the chin,
Broadcloth without, and a warm heart within."

Mr. George Vere Irving laid before the Association an impression of a seal (see cut annexed), reported to be that of queen Mary, and read the following communication:—



"During the controversy between some of the members of the Scottish Rights' Association and the *Times* with regard to the national arms, a letter appeared, signed a 'Tyro in Heraldry', in which reference was made to a seal of Marie Stewart, impressions of which are sold at Holyrood Palace, and on which the arms of France and England are blazoned in the first and fourth, Scotland in the second, and Ireland in the third.

"Had this seal or ring possessed no interest but as an adminicle of evidence in this discussion, I should not have troubled the Association

with any observations upon it, because I conceive nothing is more unprofitable than a controversy in which one party is wrong, and the other, after cramming half a day at the College of Arms, does not know why he is right. Should that subject, however, have interest for any one, I would refer them to the Treaties of Union and the Royal Proclamations following thereon, especially that of the 1st January 1801, where they will find the matter as definitely settled as it is possible for words to effect.

“The existence of such a relique of Mary Stewart raises, however, questions of the deepest historical interest, totally independent of that discussion. Every one acquainted with the history of the period knows that the great bone of contention, the great cause of enmity between Elizabeth and Mary, was the assumption by the latter, and her husband the Dauphin, of the arms of England. Again and again does Elizabeth renew this cause of complaint, and again and again does Mary reply, that although she had adopted them when under the influence of her father-in-law, she had ceased to do so after her return to Scotland. It becomes therefore of importance to ascertain at what period this seal was in Mary's possession, as a test of her sincerity and honesty; for if it can be shown that she retained it after returning to her own kingdom, the falsehood and deception practised by her towards Elizabeth is apparent, and would go far to shake the belief in her innocence now generally entertained.

“On writing to a friend in Scotland to ascertain what history was attached to the seal by the persons who disposed of the impressions at Holyrood, I received this most astounding legend in reply. ‘That the ring was in the collection of the earl of Buchan, and that it was the one formerly worn by Mary, with which she sealed her last letter, which was addressed to the bishop of Hauksphut (Oxford).’

“The conclusion was inevitable that the ring had never belonged to Marie Stewart, for the following reasons:—

“1. The very suspicion of its being in existence would have roused Elizabeth to perfect fury; yet we do not find the slightest hint of such a thing in any one of her complaints, although the smallest matter relating to this subject, down even to the dedication of a book to the infant James as prince of Scotland, England, Ireland, and France, for which the Scottish queen could hardly be held responsible, is dwelt on with the utmost bitterness.

“2. Is it possible to conceive that the existence of such a ring could have escaped the Argus eyes and lynx ears of Randolph and Killigrew, aided by the information of their *chères amies* Mary Beaton and Mary Flemming, the queen's most intimate though treacherous attendants?

“3. In anticipation of her accouchement Mary executed a testamentary disposition of her personal effects. In this she specially enumerates her several ‘*Bagues pour les doigts*’, but in the list there is no mention of such a ring.

"4. We are asked to believe that she successfully concealed this article when in the power of the rebel lords in Edinburgh, and afterwards at Lochleven; for, had they discovered it, what an inestimable prize for them would have been this means of inflaming the enmity of Elizabeth.

"5. Not only this, but we are to suppose that this perfect concealment was continued during her long imprisonment in England, that this ring escaped the sudden seizure of her effects at Chartley, but that she openly used it in sealing her letters at Fotheringay, when the use of such arms would have been the most pregnant evidence of her being guilty of the conspiracy against Elizabeth of which she was accused.

"6. Nor is this all, for we are actually called upon to believe that, in consistency with this extraordinary concealment, she actually wore it.

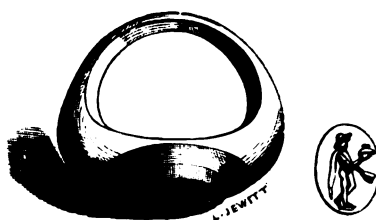
"7. The most accurate accounts of Mary's last moments have been handed down to us, and, while we know that she wrote to the king of France and her uncle of Loraine, this is certainly the first time one ever heard of an epistle to the bishop of Oxford. Is such a fact credible? What would Elizabeth have said to such a correspondence? Can we doubt that she would have done something more than unfrock the proud prelate?

"8. It appears almost inconceivable that any of the Fotheringay reliques were destined by Mary to the Erskine family. The earl and countess of Mar were certainly at one time her most trusted friends, and they are kindly noticed in the testament I have referred to; but subsequent events had entirely changed their relations to Mary. Entrusted with her greatest treasure in the person of her infant son, they had betrayed their trust and leagued with her enemies, while their kinswoman, the lady of Lochleven, had subjected her to every indignity; and yet it is to one of that very house that we are to believe she committed this seal, the very existence of which would have been so strong an evidence of the falsehood and duplicity of her whole life.

"It may, however, be objected here,—you have a regal seal, with the initials M R; to whom can it belong except to the unfortunate Marie Stewart? To this, however, there is the simple answer, that the romantic history of the daughter of James V has, in a great measure, obscured the recollection of another unfortunate queen, Mary of Este, the wife of James II. Miss Strickland has, with her usual acumen, observed, that many of the alleged reliques of Marie Stewart must be referred to this lady, and I believe that this ring is among the number.

"I admit that I cannot bring direct proof of this seal having been used by Mary d'Este, and must confess that she in general used either a diamond signet, with her royal initials surmounted by a crown, or one which impaled the arms of England on the dexter, with those of Modena and Ferrara on the sinister. Nevertheless I think the following reasons are conclusive as to the real owner of the ring:—

1.



2.



3.



ROMAN AND SAXON RINGS FOUND IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK.

" 1. As far as I can judge, owing to its small size, the crown which surmounts the shield is one which is later than Charles II.

" 2. The arms are the same as those on the dexter side of the impaled shield above mentioned.

" 3. The possession of such a relique by the Erskine family is most natural, as they were the most devoted adherents of herself and son. In 1615 the earl of Mar commanded their partisans in Scotland, while William Erskine, the brother of the earl of Buchan, was the sole companion of the chevalier St. George, when with the utmost danger he traversed France in disguise.

" 4. The enigma as to the bishop of Oxford also disappears. I believe that a slight corruption has occurred here, and that in the tale originally told the letter was addressed "to the bishop *and* Oxford". Of course those who referred the ring to Marie Stewart could make nothing of this, and so, rolling two persons into one, made it the bishop *of* Oxford. When, however, the seal is restored to Mary d'Este, the matter is at once clear, because we know that Atterbury and Harley were, if not the last, at least among the very latest persons written to by this queen."

Mr. Jobbins exhibited some sheets of a highly illuminated folio antiphonary, which had been in the possession of W. Beckford, esq., of Fonthill.

FEBRUARY 28.

S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :—

From the Royal Society. Their Proceedings. No. 8. 8vo.

Sussex Archaeological Society. Their Collections. Vol. VII. Lond., 1854. 8vo.

From the Archaeological Institute. Their Journal, No. 44, for December 1854. 8vo.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., submitted a valuable collection of rings belonging to Mr. Joseph Warren, of Ixworth. They are of gold, silver, and bronze, belonging to the Roman, Saxon, and mediæval periods, and have been found in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, but principally in the former two. It is intended to figure these interesting relics in succeeding numbers of the *Journal*, and Plate 6 represents three of the specimens exhibited.

Fig. 1 consists of a large thumb-ring of silver, found in the village of Crown Thorpe, near Wymondham, Norfolk, and was for many years in the possession of the late Mr. Richard Francis, of Wymondham. This ring may be regarded as belonging to the Roman period. The stone (onyx?) in the centre is of a grey colour and spotted, and around the intaglio is a circle of gold.

Fig. 2 is a silver ring of peculiar shape and interest, and would, from the manner in which the hoop is joined, and the circles with which it is studded all over, appear to belong to the Saxon period. This species of ornamentation must have been executed with a punch. It was found at Ixworth in Suffolk, in October 1852, by a man engaged in hoeing a field of turnips, near to a place where Roman remains had been discovered, but nothing was found along with the ring.

Fig. 3 is a ring of very pure gold, and of a pale colour. This was also found at Ixworth in May 1849, by a man hoeing a field of beans. It is probably Saxon, and resembles one figured by Mr. Akerman in his *Archæological Index*, plate xviii, fig. 27, which, however, is there stated to be an earring.

Mr. F. H. Davis, V.P., exhibited an early clothes-brush belonging to the time of Charles I, upon which Mr. H. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., made the following observations :

"The antiquity of clothes-brushes is an archæological problem yet to be resolved. They were doubtlessly used at a very early period in the East, and were, in all probability, made at first (as they generally are at the present day) of bundles of vegetable fibre, bunches of feathers, or tufts of long hair, like the classic *σοβη* and *muscarium*, which were employed by the Greeks and Romans both for driving away flies and for the removal of dust. Martial (xiv, 71), when speaking of the *muscarium bubulum*, says :

"Sordida si flavo fuerit tibi pulvere vestis
Colligat hunc tenui verbere cauda levis."

Such light whisks are well adapted for the dislodgment of the fine dry dust of eastern climes, though they would be almost useless in our humid country, where stiff rather than very flexible brushes are required.

"It would be difficult to pronounce the time when hat and clothes-brushes began to be employed in England. We may, however, safely conclude that they were in common use amongst us as early as the sixteenth century, from the familiar allusions made to the art of *brushing* by the writers of the age of Elizabeth. Shakespeare, in *Much Ado about Nothing* (act iii, sc. 2), makes Claudio to say, when speaking of Benedick, 'If he be not in love with some woman, there is no believing old signs : a' brushes his hat o' mornings ; what should that bode ?' Grumio, in the *Taming of the Shrew* (act iv, sc. 1), directs that the servants' 'heads be sleekly combed, their *blue coats brushed*,' etc. And Bacon has recorded that 'sir Henry Wotton used to say, criticks were like brushers of noble-men's cloaths'.

"Very few examples of early brushes have survived the ravages of time ; one, however, of the reign of James I is preserved in the Doucean museum at Goodrich Court. It is of a very ornate character, being inlaid with mother-of-pearl, having in the centre the figures of a man and wo-

man in the costume of the period, and the common motto, '*omnia vincit amor*'—the words which Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales* (l. 160), says were graven on the golden brooch worn by his prioress.

"The hat or small clothes-brush exhibited by Mr. Davis, and which belonged to one of his maternal ancestors in the reign of Charles II, has remained among the heirlooms of his family since that period. It is what would now be termed a wire-drawn brush: that is, the hairs are secured in the back with fine brass wire. The back is of oak, four inches and a half long, and one inch and three-quarters wide, flat, and covered with red leather stamped with festoons and roses of six petals. The hairs are of a dark brownish-red and white colour, the latter arranged in nine dice, so as to form a lozenge figure in the centre, at each end of which is the letter H.

"We occasionally meet with hat and clothes-brushes of the seventeenth century, with stuffed convex backs covered with velvet richly worked with gold and silver thread; and one specimen which came under my observation was richly decorated with beadwork.

"It is not alone in Europe and the East that the clothes-brush is required. Strange as it may seem to some, it is far more needed in the ice-bound regions of the north than amid the sands of the sun-scorched desert. The Esquimaux have not to contend against dust, but snow; and for the removal of which from their fur garments they have contrived an article closely resembling the Roman *strigel*, with which they brush, or rather scrape, off the frozen encumbrance. The Esquimaux *snow-strigels* (for so they may be called) vary from one to two feet in length, and are formed either of bone, or part of the antler of the rein-deer, slightly curved, and having a deep channel wrought along the whole length of the inner curve; pointed at the one end; the part where it is grasped by the hand terminating in a flattish knob. Captain sir Edward Parry obtained a specimen during his second voyage, in the years 1821-23, which is now in the British museum; and I beg to exhibit an example of a somewhat larger size, which was collected by capt. Beechey's expedition in the years 1826-28. It is of bone, about one foot six inches and a half in length, and about one inch in its broadest part.

"From these remarks it will be seen that three widely distinct forms of clothes-brushes are in vogue: that of the East consisting of a whisk; that of Europe of stiff, short hairs set in a broad wooden back; and that of the Arctic regions of a bone strigel. Trifling as these circumstances may appear, they yet afford another curious instance of the influence of climate over the subordinate arrangements of social life."

Mr. F. J. Baigent exhibited a daguerreotype of a Roman altar, taken by his brother, at Winchester. It was found in Jewry-street, some months since, and is remarkably perfect. When found, it was in use as a portion of a foundation to the wall that formed the street boundary-wall

of the old county jail, built towards the end of the last century. It had evidently sustained injury by being cast down, perhaps by some sudden rising of the Britons against the Roman power, as some of the letters are reengraved upon the injured portions of the surface. Its height is about eighteen inches. The inscription is as follows :

MATRIB
ITALIS GER
MANIS
GAL BRIT
ANTONIVS
CRETIANVS
P. COS. REST.

Mr. Baigent has presented the altar to Mr. C. R. Smith, to be added to his collection of Roman antiquities.

Mr. Thomas Gunston exhibited a collection of eleven keys of iron, several of which are of an early period, whilst others are as late as the close of the seventeenth century. Five are pipe or tubular, the rest spike keys. Three of them have their bows curiously decorated. They were referred for further consideration. Some of them will probably form the subject of a future communication.

Mr. William Douglas Bennett communicated notices respecting Beaulieu Abbey and the priory of St. Dionysius, which were referred for consideration at the congress to be held in the autumn in the Isle of Wight.

Mr. Planché, hon. sec., read a paper entitled "Gatherings for a Glossary", and stated that it was the first of a series, to be published, if approved by the council, in the *Journal* of the Association. It was his intention to preserve the alphabetical order of these communications; and the present comprised the articles Abacot, Aketon, Allecret, Amice, Aumuse, Arbalest, Armillausum, and Axe, respecting which much confusion of ideas, or difference of opinion, existed on various points, either of shape, material, origin, or etymology.

MARCH 14.

F. H. DAVIS, Esq., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following were elected associates :

J. Palgrave Simpson, esq., 9 Alfred-place West, Brompton.

The rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A., Portswood lawn, Southampton.

Lieut. James Richard Morrison, R.N., 10, Rich-terrace, Brompton.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Royal Society. For their Proceedings. Nos. ix and x. 8vo.

To the Editor. Gentleman's Magazine for March. 8vo.

To the Author. A Memoir on the Cheshire Domesday Roll. By George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S., etc. 1851. 8vo. Privately printed.

Mr. C. Beauchamp exhibited a very fine example of a vessel known as

the Longbeard, Greybeard, and Bellarmin, of the time of Elizabeth. It is of brown stoneware, with an unusually rotund body, and is capable of containing six quarts. On the front of the short neck is a Silenus-like mask, crowned, and having a long, flowing, pointed beard. Beneath this is a large medallion, on which is a shield charged with a pale, and surmounted by a rich crest. On each side of the body is a medallion, with a helmeted profile bust, apparently of the emperor Charles V. Round one is the legend, *VITELLIVS.GERMANICVS.IMP.P.M.TR.P.A.D.6.K.*; and round the other, *IMP.CAES.VESPASIAN.AVG.P.M.TR.P.P.P.COS.D.OI.K.* It was obtained from Wiltshire, but is of either Dutch or German manufacture.

Mr. Gibbs laid before the meeting a very perfect spur of the middle of the seventeenth century, formed of gilt brass. It was ploughed up, about twenty years back, along with fragments of horse-furniture, bullets, etc., at Worcester, and is to be regarded as a relic of the memorable conflict fought here between Charles II and Cromwell, September 3rd, 1651.

Mr. Gunston called the attention of the meeting to three early padlocks of iron. The smallest is of a globular form; another is wedge-shaped, with the keyhole at the side. This, Mr. Gunston remarked, resembled the padlock still employed to secure the gate of the rich railing which surrounds the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster. The third example is a flat lock, pointed at the base, and so contrived that the loop-bow does not move on a hinge, but is forced up with a stem from beneath when the bolt is thrown back. This fashion is said to be frequently seen in the locks of the farm gates in the country; and Mr. Syer Cuming stated that padlocks on the same principle are in every day use in Norway.

Mr. Gunston also exhibited a figure carved in beechwood, three inches and a half high, representing a person with clasped hands in the attitude of prayer. He wears a short, round wig; the ends of his cravat descend on his bosom; he has a long waistcoat, and a stiff-cut coat with the flaps folded back. The circular base on which he kneels is sculptured in front with a head, no doubt intended for that of a cherub, and beneath it the initials *H. P.* It may have been designed as an image of some Puritan; but the costume would fix it as a production of the reign of William III, or queen Anne. It was suggested that it might have been made for the figure-head of a model ship.

Mr. J. Sidney Cooper exhibited a Spanish medio peseta, or real de Plata, of Ferdinand and Isabella; struck between 1474 and 1504, in which year the queen died. It weighs 2 dwts. 2 grs. The arms are, quarterly, first, quarterly, Castile and Leon; second, Aragon and Sicily; the third as the second; the fourth as the first; with a pomegranate in base, for Granada, which kingdom was recovered from the Moors in 1492.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., read the following observations on the nimbus, in continuation of those submitted to the Association in the *Journal* (vol. x, pp. 332-362):

"The history of the nimbus has been so ably and so amply treated of by M. Didron in his *Iconographie Chrétienne*, and by Mr. G. J. French in the pages of our own *Journal*, that any attempt to add to the information therein contained would seem almost hopeless. I trust, however, to be able to bring under your notice a few curious, and, in some respects, novel examples of this ancient insignia of grace and power.

"The halo of light which surrounds the heads and persons of divine and beatified individuals, and those exercising sway both human and superhuman, and now known as the *nimbus*, *aureole*, and *glory*,¹ is traceable to the most remote ages of antiquity. Its earliest appearance in sculpture is probably upon the monuments of Nineveh and Persepolis, where we find the figures of *Baal* and *Ormuzd* surrounded by broad hoops, which are nothing more nor less than annular aureolæ. But the employment of the glory was not confined to one class of eastern religionists: though it may have had its birth in the land of Assyria, it was adopted at an early period in other countries, as, for instance, in China, Japan, Siberia,² and Hindûstan. In these regions nimbi occur of considerable size and great variety of form. The Hindû goddess *Maya*, already referred to (*Journal*, vol. x, p. 341), has a nimbus, or semi-aureole, composed of beams which radiate from her head, and terminate in an engrailed edge, which is intersected vertically and transversely with a long ray resembling the tail of a comet. The eighteen-armed goddess *Durga* has frequently an annular nimbus, with flamboyant rays issuing from its edge. The god *Surya*, or the sun, has a nimbus with an engrailed edge, and his person surrounded by an aureole of flamboyant rays. And the Hindû triad of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*, have simple annular nimbi closely resembling those seen on the earliest Christian monuments.

"But the nimbus is not regarded in the East as exclusively a symbol of Divinity, for the sovereigns and holy men of China, Persia, and Hindûstan, are also adorned with this honourable insignia. The portrait of a Persian king is given in our *Journal* (vol. x, p. 333), behind whose head rises a pyramidal nimbus of flames. Didron mentions other instances of the presence of nimbi around the heads of oriental rulers. In a picture from Lahore, representing Gourou-Sing and Baba-Nanek, the founders of the Sikh religion, the former has a radiating nimbus, and the latter a simple luminous circle of light. And in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale is a figure of Aurungzebe with a circular or radiating nimbus. I am enabled to add one more to the instances here enumerated. It is the

¹ It may be well to observe that the title of *nimbus* is now confined to the rays round the head; *aureole*, to those around the whole person; whilst *glory* is a generic term including both varieties.

² In the museum of the London Missionary Society, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, is a Mongolian idol, from Siberia, painted on cloth, and representing *Abidu*, his head decked with a disc nimbus, and his body included within a circular aureole filled with flames.

profile likeness, in oil, of one of the Moguls of Hindûstan within a palankeen, his head surrounded by a golden nimbus consisting of two circles, the inner a simple ring of light, the outer formed of very fine rays, from which issue thirteen flamboyant rays, the centre of the nimbus being coloured green. The contrast of the golden glory upon the deep brown lining of the palankeen is very effective, and evinces the good taste and judgment of the Persian artist by whom this interesting miniature was executed.

"The first nimbus adopted by the classic nations of antiquity was in the form of large pointed rays diverging from the head of Apollo. It is seen upon Etruscan sculptures,¹ upon the coins of Rhodes and Rome,² in the frescoes of Pompeii,³ and upon ancient gems⁴ and terra-cottas.⁵ Mr. T. Gunston has this evening placed before us a Roman lamp, reputed to have been discovered in London, upon which is exhibited the full-faced bust of Apollo, from whose head radiate five pointed beams of light, similar to the representation given in the *Journal* (vol. x, p. 333). Another lamp like to this is engraved in Beger's account of the Brandenburg collection (vol. i, p. 442); and this heliacal nimbus was doubtlessly the architype of the spiked crown which encircles the brows of the Seleucidæ of Syria and other monarchs, both Asiatic and European, as handed down to us upon their medals. The simple disc-formed nimbus is likewise met with on early Roman monuments. Montfaucon (*Antiq. Expl.*, ii, 414) has engraved the heads of Diana and Mercury so attired. Jupiter and the goddess Circe are represented with such in Pompeian paintings;⁶ and in later times we find this nimbus given to the emperors and empresses of Rome, as may be seen upon the coins of Constantine the Great, Flavia Maxima Fausta, Mauritius, Justinus, Phocas, and others.⁷

"The Gnostics employed a nimbus on their gems consisting of a ring, from the edge of which issued rays, much like the one in the miniature of the Mogul we have just seen;⁸ and nimbi of this form are found encircling the heads of the phoenix and peacock upon the reverses of various Roman coins of both Pagan and Christian times; and a bird so adorned is introduced in the mosaic in the church of St. Cecilia at Rome, executed early in the ninth century.

"It is evident that it is from the disc-formed nimbi of Roman paganism, Christian artists derived the luminous circle with which they in-

¹ Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, tom. i, pl. 53, p. 106.

² Beger's *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus Selectus*, tom. ii, p. 412, and tom. iii, p. 528.

³ Rich's *Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, sub voce *nimbus*.

⁴ Montfaucon's *Antiq. Expl.*, tom. i, pl. 64; Beger, tom. ii, p. 83; Le Chausse, *Grand Cabinet Romain*, p. 22.

⁵ In the *Journal*, iv, p. 9, is a figure of Victory, from a Samian ware vase, with rays darting from her head.

⁶ *Pompeii*, vol. ii, pp. 92 and 173. Lond., 1846.

⁷ Granger mentions a portrait of our Charles I with his head surrounded with rays like a saint.

⁸ Montfaucon's *Antiq. Expl.*, tom. iv, p. 363.

vested the heads of the persons of the blessed Trinity and mighty army of apostles, saints, martyrs, and confessors, which soon crowded the eastern and western menologies, and whose effigies were conspicuous in sacred buildings, and upon the page of every volume, and on articles devoted to the service of religion.

"We seldom find any distinction made in the nimbi of the Godhead, and those of saints and martyrs, until the ninth century, when what is termed the *cruciform* or *cruciferous* nimbus was generally given to the persons of the holy Trinity. There are, however, instances of its employment at a more remote period. Agincourt (*History of Art by its Monuments*, vol. ii, t. xii, fig. 1) gives an ivory tablet executed in the Greek style in the fourth century, representing, among other subjects, the creation of Eve, and in which the Father has a cruciform nimbus. He also gives (vol. iii, t. xvi, fig. 7) a mosaic of the fifth century, in the apsis of the church of St. Agatha Maggiore at Ravenna, in which our Lord has a similar nimbus. Agincourt (vol. iii, t. x, fig. 9) furnishes a third example, from a fresco in the catacombs attached to the church of St. Ponciano near the Porta Portese at Rome, executed between the sixth and eighth centuries. The Redeemer is here represented in the act of blessing, and with a nimbus, both the edge and cross of which are richly decorated. The emperor Justinianus Rhinometus (A.D. 685-711), who first introduced the image of Christ upon the Byzantine coins, had the Saviour portrayed with the cruciform nimbus. I exhibit a copper coin of Johannes Ziniscus (969-976), in which each limb of the cross in our Lord's nimbus bears a square ornament. This head is, in all probability, a copy of a very early jewelled picture of the Saviour.

"Though the cruciferous nimbus is almost exclusively devoted to the members of the Blessed Trinity, there are several exceptions to this rule, some undoubtedly arising from the ignorance of the artist, but others would seem to have been intentional, such for example as when it occurs upon the head of the Virgin, who, as *Queen of Heaven*, is made in some degree co-equal with the Godhead. In our *Journal* (vol. ii, p. 268) is engraved a sculpture in stone of the twelfth century in Fownhope church, Herefordshire, in which both Virgin and Child are decked with cruciform nimbi. Didron mentions a later instance in the Missal of the abbey of St. Magloire at Paris, of the fifteenth century, in which the infant Mary appears within a large aureole, having a golden nimbus divided by three blank transverse lines. Agincourt (iii. t. CLXI) gives a painting in distemper on wood of the Neapolitan school, bearing date 1501, which represents the Virgin and Child, with St. Peter the Martyr on the right, and St. Dominic or St. Anthony of Padua on the left, all four of whom are attired with cruciferous nimbi, the bars in each nimbus being evidently intended to reach completely across the disc. I now produce an example which is palpably the result of carelessness or ignorance on the

part of the artist. It is a pilgrim's shell from Jerusalem, engraved with the nativity of our Lord. The child Jesus and his mother have plain circular nimbi, whilst that of St. Joseph is cruciferous, the horizontal bars being directed upwards, as pointed out by Mr. French in the second figure (vol. x, p. 353).

"The *triangle* has ever been regarded as one of the most archaic symbols of the blessed Trinity, and was therefore adopted about the thirteenth century as an appropriate form for the nimbus of the Eternal Father, and was given sometimes, though rarely, to the Saviour and the Holy Ghost. The divine nimbus is at times composed of two triangles intersecting one another, so as to produce a star of five points, and also of two triangles placed edge to edge, thus forming a square or lozenge-shaped nimbus, by which the symbolic meaning of the triangle is completely destroyed. At a later period the triangle has been employed as a sort of aureole in which the name of Jehovah is inscribed. To the examples of the triangular or delta nimbi cited by M. Didron and Mr. French, I beg to add another, which occurs upon a pilgrim's shell from Jerusalem. The subject is the descent of the Holy Ghost. In the centre is the kneeling figure of the Saviour, supporting with both hands the orb and cross; on his right is St. Mary, and on his left St. Joseph holding a staff, all three having nimbi composed of fine rays. Above is God the Father with the delta nimbus, from which beams of light emanate; the right hand is raised in the act of benediction, and the left holds the royal sceptre. The dove is just beneath the Father; a glory radiates from its head, and beams are shed from it upon the Saviour.

"From the close of the sixteenth century very little attention seems to have been paid to the form of the nimbus by the artists of the western churches. A simple narrow luminous ring, or a heavy blaze of light radiating from and completely encompassing the heads of the figures, whether they be the members of the Holy Trinity, angels or saints, are the types most usually met with. I exhibit an example of the latter variety in a copperplate print of the middle of the seventeenth century, representing the profile head of *St. Matthæus*, tinted and gilded in imitation of the still earlier French missals.

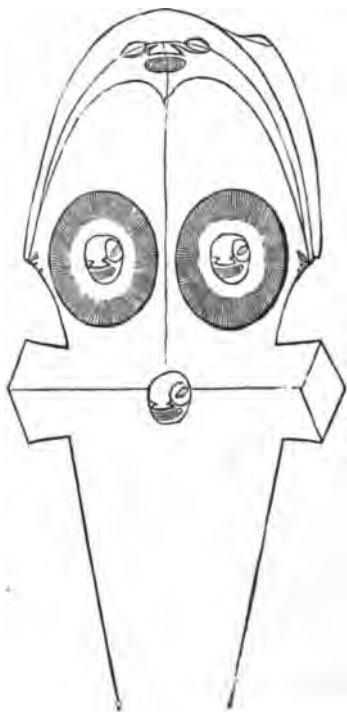
"Hitherto we have only seen the nimbus in the old world, but let it not be supposed that its use is confined to the nations on this side of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, for it is found both in America and the islands of the South Seas. In the valuable collection of Mexican antiquities, now exhibiting in Pall Mall, are a number of specimens illustrative of the subject under consideration. In it are several figures surrounded by rayed aureolæ; crowned images of *Mictlanteuctli*, sovereign of the infernal regions, with flames rising at the back of his head, recalling to our minds the fiery tongues which descended on the apostles at the feast of Pentecost; and one figure of *Nahuatrin* or the sun, has the

face surrounded by eight flamboyant rays. Pickering (*Races of Man*, London, 1850, p. 35) has engraved some subjects sculptured on the rocks on the banks of the Columbia, and among which is a full face surrounded by a nimbus of thirteen short broad pointed rays.

"I have now to direct attention to a quadrangular *tiekeh*, or club of wood, from the river Berbice in Surinam, which is engraved on every side and at each extremity with standing figures, twenty-one in number, whose heads are surrounded by annular nimbi, within which are short rays. The club is also decorated with bands of what is termed the Grecian fret, leaves, etc., the whole of the incised lines being filled with white pigment. This extremely rare and highly interesting specimen is of considerable age. A Berbice club, apparently of the same age as our specimen, is given in Skelton's *Engraved Illustrations of Ancient Arms and Armour*, by Sir S.

R. Meyrick (pl. 150, fig. 9), where it is erroneously stated to be from New Caledonia. On it is engraved three nimbed figures, their bodies springing from a common centre, thus forming a trinity in unity.

"In the South Seas the nimbus is exhibited in an equally conspicuous way as in America—witness the long heavy clubs of wood from the Old Marquesas group, on each side of the broad thick ponderous heads of which are carved two faces, surrounded by long rayed nimbi. I beg to place before you a fine club from *Fatuisoa* or La Magdalena so adorned. A nearly similar specimen is engraved in Skelton's Meyrick (pl. 149, fig. 2) from *Nukatriva*, and many examples are to be met with in our public museums. These specimens from America and the South Seas are of special value, as they at once annihilate the theory enunciated by some, that the nimbus owes its origin to the *μηριακος*, a metal disc employed by the Greeks as a protection to their statues when placed in the open air. The savages of the Transatlantic continent and the islanders of the Pacific know nothing of such contrivance, and to the sun, whose refulgent beams are alike visible to the rude and the civilised, must be attributed the true origin of the brilliant halo around the pictured and glyphic form of gods and angels, saints, virgins, martyrs and confessors, kings and heroes, whether it be called a nimbus, aureole, or glory."



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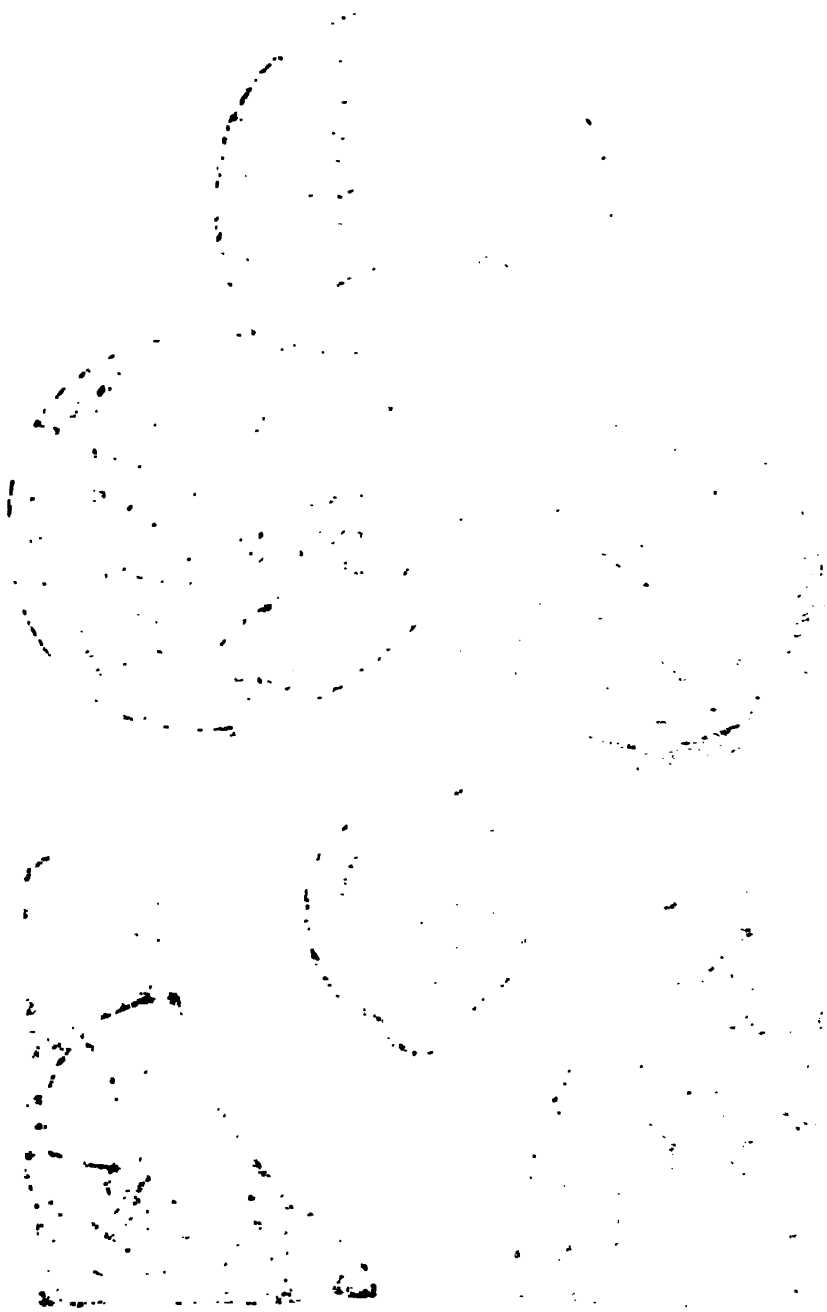
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LINCOLN CATHEDRAL NORTH TRANSEPT



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LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. NORTH TRANSEPT

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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1855.

ON PAINTED GLASS IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

BY MICHAEL O'CONNOR, ESQ.

I HAVE the pleasure of calling the attention of the Association to some observations which have been requested of me, upon a subject of considerable importance to the antiquarian artist, as well as to all who may be interested in inquiries relating to works of ancient art. The painted glass of Lincoln minster forms the principal object of my remarks; but contemporary and later works will also be noticed. The drawings or tracings which I place before you are careful and accurate facsimiles of the original windows, from studies made by my son on the spot. To accomplish these, we have been honoured with the kind permission and cooperation of the very reverend the dean and the venerable archdeacon of the cathedral, to whom we have to offer our best thanks.

The grand wheel-window (of which portions are represented in plates 7 and 8) is in the north transept of Lincoln minster, and, being the most perfect, I shall attempt first to describe it. It doubtless belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century; but we have no decided marks or dates to direct us in applying to it this exact period. We have but the usual mode of forming a judgment, by the style, execution, and the date of buildings, in which such works remain in their original state, or

nearly so, as well as by the make and colour of the glass itself. These, however, give us a positive rule to go by,—at least within a quarter of a century,—so that we cannot be far from the truth in stating this portion as belonging to the period just named. It is more than thirty feet in diameter, and is composed of many openings, forming a fine, bold set of tracings. In the centre is a large quatrefoil, within a much larger: this latter divided by iron bars, each member of quatrefoil showing four compartments, thus giving space for sixteen subjects. From this quatrefoil are four trefoils formed by cusplings, and around these are sixteen circles, each three feet in diameter (see plate 7, figs. 2, 3), forming a grand border to the whole, and giving a most extensive scope to the artist, of which he evidently knew well how to make the best use.

There are in this wheel two figures of our Lord,—a circumstance rather uncommon, but showing with what boldness a great subject may be divided into two parts whilst it is yet made to tell as one grand whole. In the centre quatrefoil is a representation of Christ enthroned in glory, his hand raised in the act of benediction. He is attended by groups of the apostles seated, the Virgin Mary, and the blessed in heaven. In the four trefoil opes are attendant angels, bearing censers, etc., in attitudes expressive of adoration and worship. (See one of these in plate 8, fig. 1.) At the base of the wheel, and occupying six of the outer circles, are so many effigies of bishops seated, fully and most correctly vested in jewelled mitre, cope, pallium, etc., bearing in one hand the pastoral staff, whilst the other is boldly extended, bearing the gospel;¹ thus, in a most comprehensive manner, illustrating the apostolic church on earth, and the triumph of religion. This forms one division of the subject.

In the upper circle of the sixteen, which forms the outer opes of tracery in the wheel, is a second representation of the Saviour. This figure is descriptive of the last judgment, as given in the Apocalypse of St. John the evangelist. The five wounds are here shown; and the whole figure is one of greatness and authority (pl. 7, fig. 1). Approaching on either side, is a series of angels, in attitudes of grief, and bearing

¹ In the divisions of quatrefoil are many subjects, illustrative of the power of the church in miracles, etc.

implements of the passion ; as the cross, on which is the inscription (partly in Greek and partly in Latin), the spear, the nails, crown of thorns, etc. In this manner is designed the second division of the subject. Besides these, there are, as subject parts, a number of smaller piercings or openings in the tracery, which are all filled with the most exquisite bits of colour and foliage, stars, etc., plainly showing that, in the eyes of the artists of this fine work, no part was deemed insignificant, or as being unworthy of deep thought. (See plate 7, fig. 4, and plate 8, figs. 2, 3, 4.)

Having, I trust, clearly explained the subject of this window, we must now look for the source whence such splendid ideas were derived. We find, on critical examination, that, in its conception, devotional feeling alone was sought : to attain this great object, all extraneous matters were cast away. Thus it will be seen that all the figures are of an uniform size ; or, if there be any difference, it still further carries out the feeling which produced such a work,—the chief figure alone being somewhat larger than the others. Whilst all attempts at raised surfaces, perspective, or other means of *making* effects, by aid of numerous accessories, at the command of artists upon other material, is so entirely avoided here, there is yet vigour and action in some of the figures, as in the exaggerated drawing of the angels. Before this be scoffed at, let us inquire into the cause, and we shall find that there is a small figure in glass, filling a small opening of a very large window, and only to be seen at a very considerable distance,—say, not less than sixty or seventy feet. Without this exaggerated action the angels could not be made to come out distinctly from the other parts. There is, too, a touch of sentiment in this action, which, without being intrusive, lights up the whole with the character of a purpose which animates the picture.

This is a matter which should be most sedulously studied by all persons connected with ecclesiastical decoration,—making their designs rather bear the stamp of conventional symbol than historic description. We find this to be the invariable custom of early glass and other painters, etc. ; and we find, too (a severe test), that the prevalence of the too-harmonizing style attempted by *late* artists—a distinctive mark of the decline of religious feeling. I must not enter, however, into hypothesis ; but confine my remarks

to that subject alone upon which I have ventured to direct attention.

Let me, therefore, now make a few remarks upon the drawing of the cartoons, full size, for this work. There seems to me to be a perfection, in this part of the study, very rarely to be met with. I have seen much of ancient glass paintings, but not any equal to this; and I unreservedly say, that the drawings for this glass were of marvellous excellence. The artist must certainly have been the first of his day, with a perfect knowledge of his material, and had well studied the most suitable and impressive design or subject for it. Lincoln minster was renowned for the possession of most magnificent church furniture, and the richest decorations for the due performances of its solemn services: hence, we cannot but suppose that in *all* parts, and all belonging to the building, none but the first artists would be employed. The colouring of this window is also well worthy of attention: it is at once bold and perfect. We see here frequently large masses of colour, and the glass in much larger pieces, than we usually meet with; and, taking the distance it must necessarily be from the spectator, plainly proves that this feature resulted from the possession of sound knowledge and pure artistic feeling. You will observe the common error of placing ruby on blue, and *vice versa*, is not here committed. Where blue grounds are, ruby is only in the border, and relieved by white; whilst the figures are draped in subdued and mellow tints, as antique purples, greens, yellows, and whites, preserving a clear and distinct character, bringing out in simple relief, and in the best possible manner, the various groups and figures. There is, in some, an absence of all colour. In the figure of our Lord, as supreme judge, the purple drapery shows their correctness also in this department of the art. Clothing all in correct colours and garments, there is a free harmony of colour to be seen through the whole work. Much of this is owing to the silvery white used in the subjects, the border and the margins throughout, which are wide and bold; and, generally, the white gives light, clearness, distinctness, and proportion, to the many openings. The rough, streaky ruby is here most brilliant, and very liberally displayed.

A few words now upon the execution of the painting

upon the glass itself. After all cartoons, working drawings, colours, etc., have been well studied and approved, we find all in most decided and careful outline, with scarcely any, yet a little, shading—so little as not to affect the mosaic flatness preserved in all good early glass paintings—clearness, beauty, and decision of outline, their objects; and successful they were. We do not now work so well, or our works have not so good an effect. This is owing much to the rich and subdued tints of the earlier glass. Our artists look to the production of pretty glass, without spot or streak. Look to the old white windows anywhere, and see how well adapted they are for ecclesiastical buildings; look at our poor modern white glass windows: and then judge for yourselves. We may remark that the indistinctness now upon this fine old window is occasioned by the thick layers of dirt and corrosion, the accumulation of ages, that is upon it; and the fact of its surface having much animal life, actually, and, no doubt, chemically, assisting the corroding works going on there, for centuries past, undisturbed. We may, perhaps, rejoice it is so. We probably may owe to its very obscureness the preservation of so much grandeur and beauty: it could scarcely have escaped the ravages of the two or three centuries last past, had it displayed its pristine magnificence and glory, and shone out in all its natural and original splendour. It is now, however, in a very sad state, many parts of it positively falling out, and in hourly danger of total destruction. Should this be placed in the restorer's hands, much care and delicacy will be required. No acids, nor powerful means of removing its incrustations, should be used: time, care, and admiration of the work, will best govern and direct him to whom its restoration may be entrusted.¹

Under the great wheel-window is a number of small (*i.e.* comparatively small, being of a good size) lancets; which are filled with an almost endless variety of Grisaille pattern glass, the glowing fulness of which is well worthy observation. You will find here a purely ecclesiastical character well and fully developed, a glowing distribution of colour, and a clearness and brilliancy of tone, well calculated to correct and harmonize the admission of light. Below these lancets are two very much larger lancets, containing painted

¹ Pecket of York may have restored the Grisaille windows under the circle.

glass of a peculiarly interesting character. One of these we may term the "angelic choir window", the design consisting of a series of angels in praise, with musical instruments, placed in a very beautiful and graceful frame work of stems and foliage. This glass is generally of a later date than the windows already mentioned, and has evidently occupied some other part of the building,—perhaps the western window, which is of a later date. In adapting it for its present position, glass of different periods has been used, with much skill, too; for in additions to fill the great width of this window, of so great variety of dates, there is a charm of effect preserved of great value. The figure-portions, and frame-work of foliage, are fourteenth century glass; the rich marginal borders, thirteenth century. So also is the outer Grisaille glass. It is interesting to observe that with every change in style of Gothic architecture a contemporary change is observable in the painted windows; by this means we arrive at a correct knowledge of dates, and we may conclude, that in the old freemasonry of art, architects, sculptors, glass painters, and all others engaged in church decoration went hand in hand together, combining their different talents in the production of such great works as are only to be successfully seen in medieval periods. The other great lancet is called the Freemason's window, and is entirely composed of a geometrical figure, only varying the colours in each repetition of the same figure: this in its form is similar to parts of the five sisters window at York Minster; but has more of colour: it may be easily supposed, if early artists and workmen upon these great buildings left any gift of their own to the Church, it would be somewhat like this, there being a scientific and a deep symbolic character in its plan,—in fact, a form frequently used as a type of the Holy Trinity.

ON LEPER HOSPITALS OR HOUSES.

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(Continued from p. 34.)

HAVING, in a former communication (pp. 9-34), treated of the history of leper hospitals or houses in general, I proceed, in accordance with my promise, now to submit to the Association some particulars relating to the respective establishments as existing in the various counties of England, with the exception of those appertaining to Kent and Middlesex, already specially described (pp. 20-34 *ante*). I have been able to trace documents and references to no less than one hundred and thirty-three hospitals, chapels, or houses, specially devoted to lepers in England; but I have no doubt of there having existed many more, of which now no evidence is to be obtained. As an alphabetical order of counties and towns forms that which is most convenient, and admits of most ready reference, I shall observe that method, and commence with—

BEDFORDSHIRE. At *Dunstable* there was a leper hospital in the time of Henry III. According to the *Chronicon de Dunstable* it was granted to Robertus Capellanus for his life.

BERKSHIRE. At *Reading* a hospital for twelve lepers and one or more chaplains, was founded, in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, near St. Lawrence church, by Ausgerus or Aucherius, who was the second abbot of Reading, succeeding Hugh prior of Lewes, and translated to the bishopric of Rouen in Normandy in 1129. Dugdale¹ gives the allowances to, and ordinances of, the inmates. Every leper had, as daily allowance, half a loaf of bread and half a gallon of ale, five pence every month for meat, and a halfpenny for offerings at Easter and Christmas. They had two loads of hay and one horse, for whose keep they had one load from Eastmead and another from Vobneymead.² They were allowed three large ells of white or black russet for their habit, and half an ell for hose; one year two large ells of white cloth, and the next, six yards of canvas, alternately. The chaplain had six ells of russet every year, at the feast of

¹ *Monast. Anglic.*, iv, 43, n. xvii, De Ordine Leprosorum. Dugdale gives the date of the hospital as 1134 (vol. vi, p. 754).

² Coates, in his *History of Reading*, gives this from MS. Wollascot, fol. 59, 60.

St. Michael, and the other articles of dress; or, by a later regulation, ten shillings for the whole, according as he agreed with the almoner. He was allowed one penny for his offerings at the two festivals, and received all the oblations of the lepers themselves. Other oblations he divided with them, but was allowed the emolument of certain masses. The carter had one barley loaf every day, and thirty-two pence yearly. The barber had two pence every month. The woman servant, who washed the linen, had the same allowance of bread as the carter, and two shillings yearly. Coates says the hospital is supposed to have stood near the great gate of the monastery, and that it had a house at one of the Erleys, probably Erley White Knights, of which they received the rents and a heriot, when they became due; and two acres of land in Spittlefield, the gift of one of the abbots of Reading. Tanner fixes the land at two hundred acres (*Inquis.*, 1 Hen. V, n. 10, "contra abbatem de Reading, qui injuste retraxit hospitale in Radyng ubi sustinere tenebatur x leprosos, pro quo habuit oc acros terræ ibid., viz. Spittlefield, Lerkenfield," etc.) Henry V gave the custody of this hospital to John Beck. (*Pat.*, 2 Hen. V, p. 2, m.) Mr. Coates mentions another hospital of abbot Hugh, built near St. Lawrence church, as expressed in bishop Hubert's confirmation of the establishment, and without the gate of the abbey. This was for thirteen poor persons, and for the occasional reception of thirteen other poor sick persons, particularly lepers, belonging to the town, and strangers who passed that way. The offerings and all other things belonging to the church of St. Lawrence were settled upon this house for the maintenance of the thirteen poor persons; and the rents and profits of certain mills belonging to the possessions of the abbey at Leominster were appropriated to the reception of strangers; also the revenues of the churches of Thatcham and Bucklebury.

· **BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.** *Aylesbury* had a leper house, dedicated to St. Leonard, as early as Henry I. It was built, and endowed with twenty shillings *per ann.*, by Samson Fitzwilliam, Reginald Wauncy, and other well disposed inhabitants. Having been suffered to go to decay, it was seized upon by some lay persons about the middle of the reign of Edward III, and was afterwards united to St. John's hospital of the same place.

At *Wycomb* there was a hospital, dedicated to St. Margaret and St. Giles. It existed before the 13th Henry III.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE. At *Cambridge*, Tanner says, John Fordham, bishop of Ely, granted an indulgence, in 1392, to all who should contribute to the relief of the poor brethren and sisters (lepers) of a hospital in that town; and also to that of St. Eligius, in the same place. There was also the hermitage of St. Ann, and *lazar* house, built by Henry Tangmar, a burgess and alderman of Cambridge, of the Corpus Christi guild, before the year 1397.

According to Tanner, a leper hospital was established at *Sterresburgh*,

or Sturbridge, near Cambridge. It was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and was in the disposal of the burgesses of Cambridge until 1245, when Hugh de Norwold, bishop of Ely, obtained the patronage of it; and it was continued to his successors, who collated the master and warden, until its suppression, 36th Henry VIII. In 1497 the hospital and free chapel were leased for ninety-nine years, and at the dissolution to the mayor, bailiffs, etc., of Cambridge for sixty years; and in the 4th James I, it was granted to John Shelbury and Philip Chewte.

CHESHIRE. At *Bebington*, or, as Tanner gives it, Babington, early in the reign of Edward I, there was a hospital for lepers. The editors of Dugdale think this to be the chapel which was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, and referred to by Lysons in the *Magna Britannia*.

At *Boughton*, near Chester, there was a hospital for lepers without the east gate of the city as early as the beginning of Edward II.

At *Nantwich* there was also a hospital for lepers or lazars. It is referred to as St. Lawrence's chapel in Harl. MSS. 2074 and 2038, fol. 137. (See Dugdale, vi, 757.)

CORNWALL. *Bodmin* had a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Lawrence, which, singularly enough, was refounded by Elizabeth in 1582. Lysons¹ recites the particulars of this charter, which states that there had been for a long time a great company of lazar people in this hospital, but that they had never been incorporated by her or her predecessors. By this charter they are incorporated by the name of a master or governor, thirty-nine brethren and sisters of the hospital of "St. Lawrence of Ponteboy." The poor men and women were to be leprous people, and to elect one another. James I granted to them a weekly market and an annual fair, with a court of piepowder on the festival of St. Luke. The fair is still kept up, and Lysons reputes the lands possessed to be worth about £140 *per ann.* A Chancery suit, instituted in consequence of abuses of the ancient endowment, has now dissolved the corporation, and its revenues are appropriated to the hospital for sick and hurt at Truro.

Launceston. A hospital for lepers, dedicated to St. Leonard, is mentioned at this place, in *Pat.* 6, Rich. II. The income derived from certain fields, etc., estimated at about £25 *per ann.*, is now appropriated to charitable uses by the corporation.

Leskard. A leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, is noticed by Tanner as occurring in an indulgence granted by Stafford, bishop of Exeter, to all who should contribute to the support of the hospital for lepers in this place. It dates about 1400.

At *Newport* also there was a hospital for lepers, dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket. It was situated near Launceston, was well endowed and governed in Mr. Carew's time. (See *Survey*, f. 68.)

CUMBERLAND. I can learn only of one hospital in this county, that

¹ *Magn. Britan.*, Cornwall, p. 36.

dedicated to St. Nicholas, at *Carlisle*. This was regarded as of royal foundation, and was for thirteen lepers, men and women. The statutes of this hospital were enrolled, *Pat.*, 15th Edw. III, p. 1, m. 48. By the 17th Edw. IV (1477) the hospital was given to the prior and convent of St. Mary, Carlisle, and in the 33rd Henry VIII formed an endowment to the dean and chapter.

DERBYSHIRE. At *Chesterfield*, a leper house, dedicated to St. Leonard, of which Tanner has met with a reference as early as 9th John, and he suspects it was founded before the 10th of Richard I. It was suppressed by Henry VIII.

At *Derby*, dedicated also to St. Leonard, was a hospital for leprous persons, of royal foundation, the mastership of which was in the gift of the crown. There was also a *Maison Dieu*, as old as the time of Henry II, devoted to lepers.

DEVONSHIRE. At *Exeter*, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. This was a leper house, without the south gate of the city, and existed before 1163. Mr. Oliver has diligently collected together the documents connected with this house, the most ancient of which records an act or charter of Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter from 1161 to 1184, and from which we gather that, previously to this time, a society of leprous persons existed here, and therefore anterior to the Crusades. The bishop endowed this hospital with five marks of silver annually, and also the tenth of the toll of Morceth, and the profits that may be derived from the bark of the woods of Chedelega. The chapter granted also other advantages, and the number of leprous inmates was confined to thirteen brothers or sisters; and they were forbidden to enter the city of Exeter, or "wander elsewhere", without permission. This charter was confirmed by pope Celestine III in 1192. The hospital was subsequently under the governance of the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty, of Exeter, and the rules and regulations (30th Henry IV) are given in detail in Dr. Shapter's *Observations on the Leprosy of the Middle Ages* (pp. 29-33). See also Jenkins' *History of Exeter*. Mr. W. T. P. Shortt, of Heavitree, recently communicated to the Association that, upon the pulling down of this leper house, the only thing found worth noticing was an old (French) denier-tournois of billon, mixed or plated metal, which must be assigned to the era of our Henry VI. This tournois, or turney, Mr. Shortt conjectures, is most probably of Louis XI, son of Charles VII and Mary of Anjou. The obverse presents a plain cross patée, reaching to the inner circle, with the legend, after a similar cross, *LVDOVICVS REX*; on the reverse, a portcullis, *TVRONVS CIVIS*. Search, Mr. Shortt says, was made for the remains of the leper, Richard Orenge, or Aurenge, who, as Izacke quaintly expresses it, "was contented to say his orisons and aves, and dwell among the brothers and sisters of leper people, in St. Mary Magdalen's hospital, without the south gate of the said city, where he finished his days, and lies buried in the

chancel of the chapel belonging to that house." He was mayor in 1454, and afterwards retired to this hermitage, having served the office of bailiff twice, viz. in 1433 and in 1437. Very little, however, has been yet found of the relics of the "orangerie", besides bones. Izacke says the family came over with sir J. Fastolfe, the governor of the provinces of Anjou and Mayne, and that his armorials were those of sir Guillam, his ancestor (or sire more probably, as sir John returned from France only fourteen years before Orange's mayoralty), viz. *argent*, three smith's barnacles or compasses, in pale, *gules*. Mr. Shortt further observes that, "the Aurenges, it is more probable, originated from the ancient principality of that name in Provence, watered by the Durance and three other tributaries to the Rhone, in which Aurange was an episcopal see, after being originally a Roman colony, famous for the anti-Semipelagian controversy in 444, called Arausicanum, the Latin name being originally Arausia. It abounded in antiquities. The orange 'pips' seem to have left their 'Abana and Pharphar' at Exon subsequently. The only branch I can trace of them is that which was seated, in later days, at Foscott, Somerset, whose arms were identical with the 'leprous' mayor, viz. *argent*, three pairs of barnacles, open, in pale, *gules*: crest, a demi-talbot (hound) erased, *or*. There was none of the romance attached to Abelard's retreat to the Paraclete, near Troyes, unfortunately, in Orange's retirement to the 'Maudlin'.¹

"The Maudlin lazar once boasted of great benefactions from Periman, Baker, and Chafe (the last of whom gave it fourteen shillings a year, an important sum then, out of a tenement in Mary Arches), from the dean and chapter, and from the beneficent Mrs. Joan Tuckfield. Great complaints were made, even as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of the inmates being permitted to go about soliciting alms and oblations, and perambulating the thoroughfares, exhibiting, of course, their revolting leprous and disgusting ailments, particularly at the south gate, to the annoyance of the inhabitants, which was put an end to in 1244, in the reign of Henry III, about the period of the foundation, or rather the endowment, of Polsloe priory by Brewer.

"That they were not free-traders appears by the permission given them by Barth. Iscanus, bishop of Exon in 1163, to collect toll on all wheat and breadstuffs sold in the city, fairs, and markets. The nuisance and annoyance was at length stopped by the claims on the hospital being yielded by the great bishop Brewer (who founded the deanery of this cathedral) to the mayor, receiving in lieu the patronage of the hospital of St. John's, East Gate, founded by the family of Long in 1283, the year before the Franciscans set up their convent on the Friar's Walk."

Dr. Shapter acquaints me that the hospital is still used for the recep-

¹ Sir W. Pole gives, Orange of Exon—*argent*, three horsbrakes or barnacles, barwise (in pale) *gueules*.

tion of those afflicted with lepra and other foul skin diseases. In 1834 he visited it, and found twelve patients suffering under various forms of cutaneous malady and other incurable affections.

Gild Martyn had also a hospital for lepers, dedicated to St. Leonard, in the time of Richard II.

Honiton had a leprous hospital, dedicated to St. Martin. It was founded by Thomas Charde, abbot of Forde. (See Tanner.) From a decree by the commissioners of charitable uses in 1642, it appears that the family of Chard had misgoverned the establishment, and converted its revenues to their own purposes, and it was therefore ordered to be applied to the habitation, relief, and maintenance, of a governor and four leprous persons for ever, and for four poor people where leprous ones did not apply for admission.

Newton Bushell. Dr. Shapter refers to a foundation deed as late as October 4, 1538, for a lazar house, by John Gibberd of Grenaway, esq., for the "releff of powre lazar people, whereof grete number with that diseas be now infected in that partis," etc.

At *Pilton*, near Barnstaple, dedicated to St. Margaret, there was a hospital for lepers. The editors of Dugdale state that the foundation still exists, though no traces of the deeds or papers in the hospital chest throw any light as to the date or the founder. It is mentioned by Tanner from bishop Brantingham's *Register*, fol. 57. The early benefactions are said to have been numerous. The hospital is mentioned in a deed of settlement before Henry Marshall, bishop of Exeter, in 1197, at which time it was governed by a prior. At the dissolution it was disposed of as an appanage to the priory of Pilton, and now forms part of the poor lands of the parish. The Society of Antiquaries has engraved the seal of this house, vol. xxv, p. 523. (See Dugdale, vol. vi, p. 759.)

Plymouth had a hospital for lepers, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St. Mary Magdalen. See *Regist. Episc. Exon.*, Brantingham, fol. 63 b.

Plympton had also a hospital, according to Tanner, existing before the 44th Edward III. It was for leprous people, and under the government of a master or prior.

Tavistock had also its leper house, and bishop Brantingham granted a twenty days' indulgence, in 1374, to all pious contributors to the establishment. The same bishop, in 1375, granted to the house at Pilton a forty days' indulgence to benefactors to that hospital.

Totness had a lazar house. Leland (*Itin.*, iii, 49) mentions it as being on the south part of the town, and endowed with some lands.

DORSETSHIRE. At *Athelington* there was a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. The name of the founder is not well established. According to Mr. Coker it was established by the Chiddiocks, whilst others name John Holt, whom Hutchins, in his county history, calls

Holtby, canon of Sarum and warden of the College de Vaux. This house was valued, at the suppression, at £7: 8: 4, and, by the 3rd Edward VI, granted to sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow, and the same year to Giles Kelway.

Dorchester had a lazar house for ten lepers: they had no land, but received an annual rent of forty shillings for gowns.

Lange Blandford is recorded by the editors of Dugdale to have had a house for lepers, on the authority of an old deed, 10th Edward I.

Lyme had a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary and the Holy Spirit. Tanner says indulgences were granted to it, in 1336, for repairing the fabric and bell tower. It was valued at £1: 18: 11 in the chantry roll.

DURHAM. There was a leper hospital near Sherburn. Tanner gives bishop Pusey (Hugh Pudsey, the "jollie bishope of Durham") as its founder, about 1181. The yearly revenue was certified by the commissioners of Henry VIII to be £142: 0: 4 in the whole, and £135: 7: 0 in the clear. This house was dedicated to Christ, the Blessed Virgin, St. Lazarus, and the sisters Martha and Mary. Surtees¹ gives a particular description of it, the donations to it, the several masters, the regulations, etc. It consisted of five convents for leprous males and females, sixty-five in number; and, during Lent and Advent, all the brethren were required to receive corporal discipline in the chapel three days in the week, and the sisters, in like manner, in the presence of the prioress, "donec omnes vapulent". When sick, the inmates were provided with fire and candle until they got better, or died, "donec melioretur vel moriatur". The lepers had the liberty of seeing their friends, and, if they had come from a distance, were permitted to remain the night. Disobedience of the inmates was punished at the discretion of the prior or prioress, "per ferulam modo scholarium", refusal to submit to which entailed upon the offender being reduced to bread and water; and after the third offence and monition they could be ejected from the house. These regulations were confirmed by bishop Kellaw. The house, however, began to decay, and its revenues were diverted into other channels. Bishop Langley, the visitor, interfered, and applied to pope Eugenius IV, who granted a faculty to make new ordinances. The master was by these obliged to be a priest, and maintain four chaplains, and he was also to maintain thirteen poor brethren and two lepers, "in memoriam primariæ foundationis, si in partibus reperiri possint." Time, however, produced a repetition of neglect and abuses, and in the reign of Philip and Mary a commission of inquiry was appointed; and in 1595 another set of ordinances was issued, the particulars of which will be found in Surtees' *Durham*. The statutes of bishop Butler are still in force, and the mastership is in the gift of the bishop of Durham. It is worthy of remark, that, in a manuscript history of the cathedral and diocese of Durham,

¹ History and Antiquities of Durham, i, 127 et seq.

contained in the Bodleian library, the inmates of this hospital are called *elephantuosi*, not *leprosi*.

ESSEX. At *Colchester*, Eudo, steward of Henry I, the founder of St. John's abbey, founded by command of the king ("per preceptum Henrici regis") a leper hospital, towards the south-east of the town, and dedicated it to St. Mary Magdalen. The privileges granted by Stephen and Henry II were confirmed by Henry III, Edward III, and Richard II. Morant has reported a curious circumstance connected with this hospital, from Riley's *Placita Parliament.*, pp. 610-11. He says: "But in the time of Edward I, abbot Adam de Campes not only withheld their tithes, and the pension of £6 given by Henry I, but also, having craftily desired to see their charter, flung it into the fire, took away their common seal, and compelled them to swear obedience to him, and turned such as refused out of their dwellings. For redress whereof the poor brethren applied to parliament, and were reinstated." In 26th Henry VIII it was valued at £11 *per ann.* Although this hospital, like most others, suffered decay and destruction in the reign of Edward VI, it was held, in 1558, by bishop Bonner, in free alms; but the lands were soon lost, the hospital demolished, and queen Elizabeth, in 1565, granted the revenues that had belonged to it to Nicasius Yetsweirt, her French secretary, and some of the clerks of the signet. James I refounded it, in 1610, for a master and five unmarried persons, and called it the college or hospital of king James, within the suburbs of the town of Colchester. The lands, revenues, and possessions, formerly held by it were restored. In this state it still exists; the lord chancellor nominates the master.

In the county of Essex I have met with notices leading to the inference that there were two leprous hospitals at *Great Ilford*, or on the London road at Ilford. They probably refer to the same establishment, though the dates of foundation are irreconcilable. Tanner states the founder of the latter to have been Adelia, the abbess, and convent of Barking, at the end of the reign of Henry II or beginning of Richard I. It was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, for leprous persons, consisting of their tenants or servants, having a secular master, a leprous master, and thirteen brethren lepers, two chaplains, and one clerk. It was valued, 26th Henry VIII, at £21 : 3 : 4, in the whole, and £16 : 13 : 4 in the clear. Queen Elizabeth refounded this hospital for a master and six poor people, and it still exists. In 1572 the patronage and advowson were given to Thomas Fanshaw, esq., remembrancer of the exchequer, and to his heirs for ever, under certain obligations. Morant estimates the lands to be worth about £100 *per ann.*, and tells us that, in 1591, those greedy hunters after concealed lands, W. Tipper and R. Dawe, got a grant of this hospital, and an advowson of the same. (*Pat.*, 33rd Eliz.) In 1604, however, it was recovered by Selwood against Chamberlayne. It then passed successively through various persons to Mr. Waldon of Southwark, after-

wards to Mrs. Waldon, then to sir Crisp Gascoigne, lord mayor of London, in 1753, whence it descended to his son, Bamber Gascoigne, esq. Dugdale gives the regulations of a house at Ilford in 1346, by Baldock bishop of London, and states the religious duties and services required of them. These statutes, however, are of Ralph Stratford, bishop of London, not Ralph de Baldock; and this error is corrected in Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel's edition of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

The hospital at Great Ilford was said to be an ancient and royal foundation, built and endowed by king Stephen, for a master, who was to be a priest, and thirteen poor brethren, who were designated *fratres leprosi*, and provision was made for certain poor women to attend upon them. Mr. Arthur Agard¹ gives the following narrative in relation to the misconduct of a leper belonging to the house at Ilford: "It was my happe to see once an abstracte out of the lygar (leger) book of Barking nonnery in Essex, in a gentleman's honde, now dead, and who showed me that the abbesse, beinge accompanied with the bushup of London, the abbot of Stratford, the deane of Paule's, and other great spyrytuall personnes, went to Ilforde to visit the hospytal there, founded for lepers; and uppon occasion of one of the lepers, who was a brother of the house, having brought into his chamber a drab, and sayd she was his sister; and for which crime he was to be disgraded, and expelled the house. The manner of his disgradinge was thus, as I remember. He came attyred in his livery, but bare-footed and bare-headed, *tena deposita*, that is, without a night cap, and was set on his knees uppon the stayres benethe the altar, where he remained during all the time of mass. When mass was ended, the prieste disgraded him of orders, scraped his hands and his crown with a knife, took his booke from him, gave him a boxe on the chieck with the end of his fingers, and then thrust him out of the church, where the officers and people received him, and putt him into a carte, cryinge, *ha rou, ha rou, ha rou!* after him. And to this day, in and towards our northern countreys, the people, upon a sodden fright of a madde dogge, bull, or bore, or one that stealeth theyre hens, geese, or ducks, or one taken with a drabe, will followe after and crye *harou, harou!* so that it is become a proverbe in shame of a man to saye he was *haroued*."

Maldon Justa, or Little Maldon, had a house for the burgesses of the town having leprosy, dedicated to St. Giles, and founded by some of the kings of England before 16th Edward II. Richard II granted it to the prior of Bikinaker; and afterwards, by leave of Edward IV, it was united to the abbey of Bileigh. In 30th Henry VIII it was granted to Thomas Dyer, and in the 25th Elizabeth to Theophilus and Robert Adams. For the maintenance of this hospital the master was to receive all the forfeitures or fines imposed for bread, beer, flesh, and fish, unfit to be eaten. Robert Mansfield, the master, neglected his trust, having during three

¹ Hearne's Discourses, i, 249.

years neither maintained a chaplain nor any leprous person. Henry IV therefore took it into his own hands, but restored it again; and several presentations were made after Mansfield's death, between 1422 and 1480. In this year Henry Bouchier earl of Essex, Isabel his wife, and others, who had presented the then master, obtained the king's license, and gave it, in 1481, to Thomas Scarlet, abbot of Bileigh, and to the convent, and their successors, together with the lands belonging to it. These were appropriated to the abbey by Thomas Kemp, bishop of London.

Sedeburbrook, in the parish of Southwold, had a free chapel and a hospital for lepers, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, before 20th Edward I. In 7th Edward VI it was presented to sir Anthony Brown and Richard Weston.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE. *Gloucester* had a hospital for lepers, dedicated to St. Margaret, and founded before 13th Edward II. It still exists, and has nine poor persons in it, at two shillings per week.

Tewkesbury. Notice of a house for lepers occurs in a charter of the 1st of John, p. 2, n. 162.

HAMPSHIRE. Tanner says that *Southampton* had a leper house, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, which was afterwards annexed to the priory of St. Danes. We have no information in regard to the foundation of this hospital, but in 1646 Richard Flurry was appointed master; and in 1699 there being no lepers, its revenues were appropriated to general charitable uses, having a clause in particular to give preference to any afflicted with the leprosy.

HEREFORDSHIRE. At *Hereford* there was a lazar house, dedicated to St. Giles. This is given on the authority of Leland, who says, "there is also, in the suburb without Inn Gate (Eynegate?), a chapel of St. Giles, first founded for lazars, now converted to the use of other poore folke. The burgesses be patrons of it." (*Itiner.*, vol. iv, p. 86.)

HEERTFORDSHIRE. *St. Alban's*. The leper hospital, known as St. Julian's, was founded by Geoffrey de Gorham, who died in 1146, having been abbot twenty-six years and some months. He was the sixteenth abbot of St. Alban's, and established the hospital for a master, four other chaplains, and six poor lepers. Henry II confirmed the statutes for its government under Michael, the twenty-ninth abbot, in 1344 (see *Dugdale*, vol. vi, 618, *et seq.*). The site of the house was granted to Richard Lee in the 36th Henry VIII.

The editors of Dugdale's *Monasticon* assign a house of lepers to *Baldock*, in the time of Henry III. Tanner says "perhaps of Templars," to whom the manor belonged by the gift of Gilbert, earl of Pembroke.

Berkhamstead had two leper hospitals in the reign of king John. One of these was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the other to St. John the Evangelist. The custody of both was in the house of St. Thomas of Acon in London, granted by Jeffry Fitz Pierce, earl of Essex.

De la Praye, or Mary de Pree, near St. Alban's, had a hospital for leprous women, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and founded by Garinus or Warine, abbot of St. Alban's. It was liberally endowed, and maintained a prioress and several nuns of the order of St. Benedict. Tanner says that cardinal Wolsey, in 1528, procured a bull from Clement VIII, for its suppression and annexing it to St. Alban's; but on the 6th of June, 20th Henry VIII, he obtained a grant of it with all the lands thereunto belonging for himself. After his attainder, it was put off by way of exchange to St. Alban's abbey, and as parcel thereof was granted 32nd Hen. VIII. to Ralph Rowlet, esq.

At *Hoddesdon* there was also a leper house, dedicated to St. Landus and St. Anthony, founded in 1391.

KENT. For leper hospitals in this county, see pp. 28-34, *ante*.

LANCASHIRE. At *Lancaster* there was a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Leonard upon the foundation of king John while earl of Morton, for a master, chaplain, and nine poor persons, whereof three were to be lepers. By Henry, duke of Lancaster, about 30th Edward III, it was annexed to the nunnery of Seton in Cumberland.

LEICESTERSHIRE. *Burton Lazars*. The foundation of this hospital is given by Tanner to Roger de Mowbray, in the time of king Stephen. It formed the chief of the leper houses in England, and was dependant upon the great house at Jerusalem. Nichols, who has given a very full account of this hospital in his *History of Leicestershire*, supposes it to have been built by a great collection throughout England, but chiefly by the assistance of Roger de Mowbray. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Lazarus. William de Albini gave Choseley manor in Windham in Norfolk to this house, the possessions of which were confirmed to it by Henry II, John, and Henry VI. Edward III also granted to the brethren an exemption from tithes and other contributions. In the fourteenth century it was burnt by the negligence of a plumber. Its clear revenue at the suppression amounted to £265 : 10 : 2½. The site was granted to lord Lisle 36th Henry VIII. The house had a common seal, which has been engraved by Nichols, and Dugdale gives the several charters relating to the hospital.

At *Leicester*, on the north part of the town, was a leper house, dedicated to St. Leonard. It was founded by William, the youngest son of Robert Blanchmains, earl of Leicester, himself a leper, in the time of Richard I. Edward IV, upon the solicitation of the earl of Hastings, granted it to the dean and chapter of Our Lady College here, and as parcel of that, as Tanner says, it was granted, 2nd Edward VI, to Robert Catlyn.

At *Tilton* there was a hospital, afterwards annexed to *Burton Lazars* by Sir William Burdet, in the reign of Henry II.

LINCOLNSHIRE. Tanner mentions a leper house under the head *Dun-*

stane, or *Dunston*. It was a hospital for lepers in the time of Henry III. Tanner questions whether it be not the same as *Mere*.

At *Lincoln*, dedicated to the Holy Innocents, and founded by Remigius, bishop of Lincoln (who died in 1092). He assigned to it thirteen marks of yearly revenue. Tanner suspects this may have been the same as Holy Innocents, called *Le Mallardry* without Lincoln, or that at least it gave rise to the foundation of that hospital by Henry I. This was annexed to *Burton Lazars*, 35th Henry VI, for the better maintenance of three of the king's servants that should happen to be lepers either at Lincoln or in the hospital of *St. Giles* in London, and as parcel thereof, was granted to sir Wm. Cecil, 7th Edw. VI.

Stanford. Tanner places a lazar house at this place, belonging to the abbey of *Peterborough*, in the time of *Grothead*, bishop of Lincoln.

MIDDLESEX. I have already mentioned some leper houses in this county (see pp. 20-24, *ante*). There require also to be noticed those at *Highgate* and *Knightsbridge*. The former was founded by Wm. Pole, or Poole, a yeoman of the crown, by charter, in the 12th Edward IV. It was situated below the hill, and is alluded to by *Stowe* (Append. 21) and *Weever* (p. 499). In the Patent Roll of Edw. IV, p. Oct. 26, we read: "Rex concessit novam domum leprosam de Hygate in Com. Middlesexie Roberto Wilson pro termino vite." It had a chapel, dedicated to *St. Anthony*, attached to it, and was for the relief and harbour of destitute leprous persons, to the end that they should not be offensive to others in their passing to and fro. Wm. Pole, it further appears, was moved to this work of charity having been struck with the leprosy. The hospital at *Knightsbridge* occurs in *Newcourt's Repertorium* (vol. i, p. 624), who refers to it as an ancient lazar house held under the church at *Westminster*. Tanner speaks of it only as a chapel which was rebuilt in 1629, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and it still exists. Among the records belonging to the dean and chapter of Westminster is an account of the lazar house, drawn up by *John Glassington*, who in 1595 was the governor of the house. It was held of the church of Westminster by the family of Glassington, at the rent of 4s. per annum. The chapel probably formed a part of the ancient hospital.

NORFOLK. At *Chosell*, near *Ringstead*, was a lazar house, mentioned by Tanner as given by *Walter*, earl Giffard, to the brethren of *St. Lazarus*. It was valued in the Lincoln taxation, *temp.* Edw. I, at £13 : 18 : 2, and was afterwards annexed to *Burton Lazars*, when 36th Henry VIII it was granted to *John Dudley*, viscount *Lisle*.

Hardwic, or *Herdeuik*, had a leprous hospital, dedicated to *St. Lawrence*. The advowson was 12th Edward III in *Matthias Harlewin*.

Langwade. *Blomefield*¹ mentions a leper hospital as having existed "about two miles east of *Oxburgh* (or *Oxenburgh*), in the road to *Cley*,

¹ History of Norfolk, iii, 484.

a little before you come to Langwade Cross". Thomas Salmon, chaplain of Oxburgh, gave a legacy to it in 1380. It was lately in the possession of sir Richard Bedingfield, bart.

Lynn. At this place there were several houses for lepers :—

St. Mary Magdalen, founded in 1146, by Petrus Capellanus, for a prior and ten sound brethren and sisters, and three unsound or leprous, with canons and chaplains. Mackarell in his *Antiquities of King's Lynn* gives an account of this hospital, and of its statutes and ordinances in 1174, when its foundation was confirmed. This hospital had a common seal, which is described in Taylor's *Index Monast.*, p. 54, as large and oblong. In the centre was Mary Magdalen, bearing a box in her right hand and a palm branch in her left. On the right side a shield, with two keys in saltire; and on the left the triangular emblem of the Trinity. The legend reads: SIGILLVM : COMMVNE : . . . MARIE : MAGDALENE . . . The hospital was invested in the crown after the statute of Edward VI (1547), and thence passed into private hands, being in 1581 in the possession of Robt. Hullier, a merchant of Lynn, who received it from Theophilus Adams of London, and in 1593 it was granted to the mayor and corporation of Lynn. In 1611, James I gave a patent for refounding the hospital for a master and eleven sisters to the mayor and corporation. It was burnt down in 1643, rebuilt in 1649, and is still held by the mayor and corporation.

West Lynn, Cowgate, Setch-hithe, and *Mawdsley* are mentioned by Tanner as leper houses at Lynn, on the authority of the will of Stephen Guybon, of North Lynne, bearing date 1432. The latter place (Mawdsley) Tanner suggests may be a corruption for Magdalens.

Setche Parva, in South Lynn, had a leper hospital, the date of the foundation of which is unknown. The advowson was in Matthias Herlewine in 1318. He conveyed it, in 1337, to Thos. Durrant and others. John Durrant, in 1448, granted it, with the chapel of St. Lawrence, to Robert Sinkclere. In 1447 Edmund Bedingfield granted the site, the hospital having been burnt, to John Norris. It was sold by sir Henry Bedingfield, bart., to lord Fitzwilliam, *temp.* Geo. I.

Newbridge, or *Newbrige*, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Lawrence, in 1373 had a master and brethren lepers. In 1449 a master, wardens, and friars heremites; it decayed, and in the 26th Henry VIII was valued, as a free chapel, at £3 : 7 : 6 per annum.

Norwich. Without the gates of the city were several leper houses, supported chiefly by the voluntary alms of the inhabitants and passengers.

St. Mary and St. Clement, without St. Austin's Gate, which in Tanner's time was still called the Pest House. This is now the infirmary. The lepers belonging to this hospital are mentioned in 1312, but the particulars of its foundation are unknown. It is conjectured by Blomefield

to have been by a bishop of Norwich. The corporation now hold it by lease from the bishop, which has been the case from 1670.

Magdalen Hospital and Chapel, about a mile N.E. out of Fybridge or Magdalen Gates. This was founded by Herbert, bishop of Norwich, before 1119. He endowed it with lands and revenues, and it had many benefactors. In 1370 sir Robert de Salle, knt., was beheaded in the chapel. In 1506 it was united to the hospital of St. Giles, but soon after separated, and the bishop was the patron of both. It was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and was for a master, brethren, and sisters. It had a common seal, of a small oval form, representing the Virgin Mary, crowned, and holding the Saviour in her arms, and the master of the hospital praying to Him. Over the head of the Virgin are two cherubim, and round the seal this prayer: TE . PRECOR . MARIA . MAGDALENE . SERVA . M . R . M . It is now a barn; but a portion of the chapel still remains. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xii, for some details of its Norman architecture.) Taylor (*Index Monast.*) says that a small oratory was attached to this hospital, and that in 1448 a new chapel had been built for the lepers, and that they had license to bury their dead in the burial-place here, they having previously been buried in the churchyard of All Saints. It was a large house in 1625, but appears in 1668 to have been an almshouse belonging to the parish for poor widows.

St. Bennet Hospital and Chapel, at St. Bennet's Gate. According to Kirkpatrick, this was used as a leper house till 1697 or after. It had a common seal in 1594, of an oblong shape, bearing an effigy of St. Bennet standing at the entrance of a church.

Hospital at St. Giles's Gate. This was a leper house and chapel. According to Blomefield, this was founded in the reign of Edward III, by Balderic or Baudry de Taverham, who settled it upon the city in 1343. Tanner makes a statement that, in 1308, Walter Knot granted it to Richard de Ely, "his seven cottages in which the leprous people dwell, lying together without St. Giles's Gate, on the north side of the king's highway". It was suppressed at the dissolution, but remained a hospital until 1694.

Hospital and Chapel at St. Stephen's Gate. This had a common seal at the dissolution. In 1629 it was square, with the letter S in the middle for St. Stephen. In 11th of William III the corporation of Norwich granted a lease of the site, for nine hundred years, to John Dinch and Elizabeth his wife.

Information relating to these several establishments will be found in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

Rachness in Southacre. This was dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and is conjectured to have been founded in the time of Henry II, by Herbert de Sudacre. William his heir gave to the priory of Castleacre certain lands, where the church of St. Bartholomew was founded for the use of

the lepers there remaining, for the health of his soul and that of Hugolina his wife. The endowment of this hospital was confirmed and augmented by Alan de Polgrave. Tanner says it was subordinate to the priory of Castleacre.

Snoring Parva. There was a lazaret house at Quenegate, in this parish, in 1380. (See Tanner and Blomefield.) It was a lazaret house, and is mentioned in the will of Alexander, rector of Snoring Parva, in 1380.

West Somerton. Ranulph de Glanville and Berta his wife founded a hospital for lepers at this place in the time of Henry II. It was placed under the government of the monastery at Butley in Suffolk, to which it was annexed 1st Henry IV.

Thetford. On the Suffolk side was St. John's Hospital and Church for lepers. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, *temp.* Richard II, circa 1387, gave it to the Austin friars; and the parish being united to that of Holy Trinity, it was made a house of lepers and a chapel. In 32nd Henry VIII it was granted to Richard Fulmerstone, esq. Lord Petre is the present possessor of the site. The hospital and chapel are totally demolished.

St. Margaret's Hospital and Church. This was a parish church in *Thetford* in the time of Edward the Confessor, and in the time of Richard II was annexed to St. Mary's, belonging to the see of Ely. It was then assigned as a house for lepers (1390), and the bishop offered an indulgence of forty days' pardon to all who should become benefactors to it. Dissolved in the reign of Edward VI. The site is known, and remains of coffins, bones, etc., have been exhumed, but the hospital is entirely demolished.

St. John Baptist's Hospital and Church for lepers at *Thetford*. The foundation of this is attributed to Roger Bygod, earl of Norfolk, *temp.* Henry I. It was suppressed by John, earl of Warren, in the reign of Henry III, and the brethren removed to another house,—the hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, founded by him. In the time of Henry III, Blomefield says that there was a guild of St. John the Baptist also transferred to Magdalen hospital.

St. Mary Magdalen Hospital and Church was originally a parish church, and afterwards united to St. Cuthbert's; founded in the reign of Henry III by John, earl of Warren and Surrey.

Walsingham. The date of the foundation of the leper house of Walsingham Parva is uncertain. It is mentioned in 1486 and in 1491. Robert Pigot gave by will a house for the use of two leproous persons "of good families". Thomas Sidney, brother to Nicholas Sidney, ancestor of the earls of Leicester, was governor of the spital here in 1539, and at the dissolution he obtained a grant of the priory, which now forms the Bridewell.

Yarmouth. Tanner mentions two leper houses belonging to this place

which existed before 1374. One of these was about half a furlong from the north gates. They were both at or near the north entrance of the town, and are mentioned in old wills as the leper houses without the walls of Yarmouth. Their founders are unknown. Taylor (*Index Monast.*, p. 62) enumerates several benefactions to them from the year 1349 to 1466. They belong to the mayor and corporation of Great Yarmouth.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. *Cotes*, near Rockingham, had a leper house. It occurs in Rot. Pat., 14th Henry III, m. 7.

Northampton. A leprous hospital, dedicated to St. Leonard, on the south side of the town. It is said to have been founded by William the Conqueror, and under succeeding kings the mayor and burgesses became the patrons. According to Dugdale it was valued, 26th Henry VIII, at £10 per annum. If the date assigned to its foundation be correct, it is an additional proof that leper hospitals were established in England before the crusades.

Peterborough. A hospital for sick and leprous persons was here established as early as the time of king Stephen. It was dedicated to St. Leonard.

Towcester. Mention of a leprous hospital here is made in the *Pipe Rolls* of 20th John, dedicated to St. Leonard. The mastership was in the gift of the crown. It suffered an early decay; Tanner thinks before 1447.

NORTHUMBERLAND. *Hexham* had a leper hospital as early as king John. It was valued at four marks per annum; and was in 30th Henry VIII, granted, with the site and priory, to sir Reginald Carnaby.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE. *Blyth.* Tanner mentions a leper hospital at Blyth, founded by William de Cressy, lord of Hodesac. It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and valued, 26th Henry VIII, at £8 : 14 : 0 per annum. (See Thoroton's *Hist. of Notts*, 468-474.)

OXFORDSHIRE. *Banbury.* A leper hospital, dedicated to St. John, was here in the reign of John. In the 26th Henry VIII it was valued at £15 : 1 : 10 per annum, and the mastership was in the gift of the bishop of Lincoln.

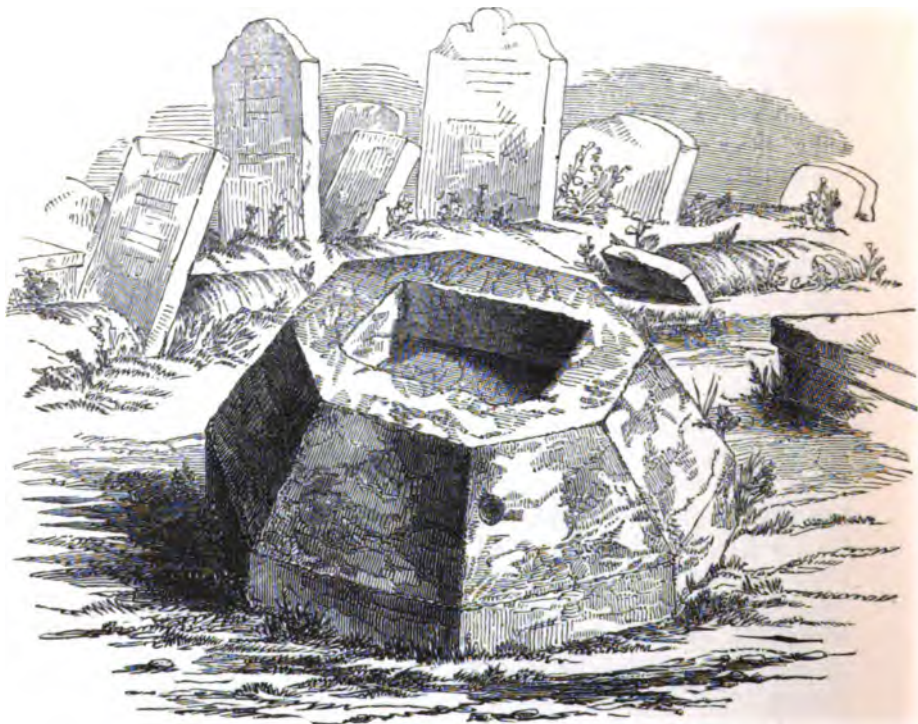
Crowmersh. A leper hospital at this place is mentioned in the register of Osney abbey in 1248. Tanner, however, suspects it may be the same with the free chapel of St. Mary Magdalen of this place.

Oxford. A leper hospital, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, half a mile east of the city, as ancient as Henry I, and conjectured to have been built by that monarch when he erected his palace at Beaumont. It was for a master, who was a priest, two healthful brethren, and six infirm or leprous brethren, and a clerk. Edward III, in 1328, gave it to Oriel College to support a chaplain and eight poor brothers.

PEMBROKESHIRE. At *Tenby* Tanner mentions a hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, for the king's tenants. It was under the government of the mayor, and was of the yearly value of 40s.

SHROPSHIRE. *Shrewsbury* had a St. Giles's Spittle, situated in the east suburb. It existed in the reign of Henry II, who by a deed, dated from Woodstock, and addressed to Bishop W. of Chester, granted a sum of money to the infirm. Bishop W. is conjectured to be Walter Durdent, whose time extended from 1154 to 1162. In Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury* the deed is thus given:—"Henry, king of England, and duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to W. bishop of Chester, and to his justices and sheriffs and ministers, and all his faithful of Salopshire, greeting: know that I have given, and granted in perpetual alms to the infirm (lepers) of Salopesbir, of my firm of Salopesire every year, thirty shillings; and I will and command, that they have them quietly and entirely by the hands of my sheriff. Witness M. Biset Server and Warin Fitz Gerald, chamberlain. At Wudestoke." Henry subsequently granted to the leprosi S. Egidii "a handful of two hands of corn out of every sack, and a handful of one hand of flour out of every sack exposed for sale in the market of Salopesbiri either on market or other days." Those grants were confirmed by 5th John at Wudestoke. Henry III also granted by charter, A.D. 1232, for the health of his soul, etc., to the lepers of the hospital of St. Giles without Salop, that they may have one horse journeying once a day for dead or dry wood "in our woode of Lythewode," about four miles distant, for their fire. At the time of this grant Henry was on his way to Shrewsbury, and it was made at Wenlock. By another deed, 29th of this king, he took the hospital and brethren under his especial protection and defence; and commanded his bailiffs and lieges to maintain, protect, and defend their men, lands, things, rents, and possessions, "requesting and admonishing you in God, that when the brethren of the said hospital come to you to beg alms, for the behalf of their house, you will favourably admit them, and mercifully impart to them your alms of the goods conferred by God upon you." These several grants were confirmed in the 9th and 10th Edward II, 1st Richard II, and 2nd Henry V. The appointment of the master was vested in the abbot and convent of Shrewsbury, by whom it was leased to Richard Lee of Langley, whence it passed to Richard Prynce of White Hall, Shrewsbury. From this family it descended to the Tankervilles, and the present earl Tankerville receives as master annually from the sheriff of the county 30s., and he nominates four hospitallers who live in adjoining cottages, each inmate receiving 1s. 6d. per week, 3s. for coals at Midsummer, and 12s. 6d. for clothing at Christmas. From several deeds and indentures of conveyance of lands and messuages, we learn that this hospital had a seal, which was found attached to one of these instruments by the late T. F. Dukes, esq. An impression of this, but in a very imperfect state, was forwarded in 1846 to the Association by Mr. L. Jewitt. It bore the figure of a hind, by whose milk St Giles was stated to have been nourished in the desert, and over the animal what

was described to be (but which unfortunately is too indistinct to admit of being figured) the clack-dish or alms basket, and the clapper used by lepers. But small traces of the foundation of this hospital now remain in the neighbourhood of the church, which interesting little structure is about a mile from "the English Bridge," a little way beyond the top of the abbey Foregate, between the London and Wenlock roads. In the churchyard a few years since there were discovered the remains of a sculptured cross of the fourteenth century. The socket for receiving this had been converted into a "pest basin," it having been used as such during the time the



plague prevailed at Shrewsbury. In this receptacle the townspeople deposited their money (purified doubtlessly by vinegar) for the purchase of provisions and other necessities of life from their neighbours. It was sketched by Mr. L. Jewitt in 1845, and is here represented.

Bridgenorth. Mr. Eyton, in his *History of Shropshire* (vol. i, p. 349) has given a seal of St. James' hospital, the legend of which reads, SIGILL. LEPROSORVM. SCI. IA. .BI DE BRVGIA, and represents a leper furnished with a staff and wallet. Tanner (*Notitia Monastica*) mentions a hospital of this title, rated in the *MS. Valor. in Offic. Primit.* at £4 *per ann.*, and suspects it to have been that founded by Ralph le Strange, who died *temp.*

Richard I. The mastership of this hospital was, in the time of Edward IV, annexed to the abbey of Lylleshul; and as parcel of the possessions of that house, it was granted to Leon. Edwards, 31st Hen. VIII.

SOMERSETSHIRE. It is remarkable that neither Tanner nor Dugdale record any leper hospital at *Bath*. Collinson,¹ however, states that adjoining the hot bath at Bath, was the leper's bath, and that it was appropriated to the lepers only; that a hospital, dedicated to St. Lazarus, was attached to it, and erected in 1138, by Robert, the first bishop of Bath and Wells.

Bridgewater. At the west of the town, and dedicated to St. Giles, was a hospital which Tanner suspects to have been that concerning the visitation of which there was a prohibition in the time of Edward III.

Bristol. Here was a hospital, erected by John earl of Moreton, afterwards king of England, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In the 26th Henry VIII it was endowed with £51 : 10 : 4 per annum, and in the 36th granted to G. Owen. There was also at Bristol a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, on the west side of Redcliffe hill.

At *Ilchester* there was a house for lepers, with a chapel attached to it. Bishop Hugh de Wells bequeathed to this house three marks, and a like sum to the leper houses at Bath and in Selwood Forest.

Langeport. In the register of bishop Drovensford mention is made of a leper hospital at this place, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. It was founded before 1310, at which time the bishop granted a brief to collect alms throughout his diocese for its support; and Richard Melford, bishop of Salisbury, also granted an indulgence to its benefactors.

Selwood. Hugh de Wells, bishop of Lincoln, bequeathed a legacy of three marks to "*Domus leprosororum de Selwood*" in 1212.

Taunton. Tanner mentions a leper house near the chapel of St. Margaret. It was founded by one Lambrizt or Lambright, a merchant of the place. By his successors the hospital was annexed to Glastonbury abbey.

SUFFOLK. *Beccles.* An almshouse or hospital for lepers, with a chapel attached to it, and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, was here in the time of Edward III. As early as 1327 it was at the west part of the town near the free school. Tanner says that in Strype's *Memorial of King Edward VI* (p. 516), it is stated to be also dedicated to St. Anthony, and that Edward Lydgate is said to have had the king's (Edw. IV, an. 4) license to beg for the lazar house (1551). In 1567 John Bridges bequeathed to Humphrey Trame, then the master, the sum of 20*s.* to be divided among the brethren and sisters; and Humphrey Trame left in 1596 a bible, service book, desk, etc., to the hospital. James I granted it to — Kerrick, and Charles II to Wm. Chapman for life, and in 1676 it was given to the portreeve, surveyors, and commonalty of Beccles towards the maintenance of the poor for ever.

¹ History and Antiquities of Somersetshire, i, 42.

Bury St. Edmund's. Without the Risby gate stood St. Peter's hospital, built by the abbot Anselm, in the latter part of the reign of Henry I or the beginning of Stephen. It was for the maintenance of priests and others when they grew old and infirm, leprous or diseased, and dedicated to St. Peter. It was assigned to the precentor of Bury in 1281. It was valued at £10 : 18 : 11 per annum, and continued to 1551, when a protection was granted to the lazars here, and George Hodgson, the guide of the house, was appointed proctor. The trustees of the grammar school are the present owners of this hospital.

Dunwich. A hospital, dedicated to St. James, for a master and several lepers, brethren and sisters, was here as early as Richard I. Blomefield ascribes its foundation to John when earl of Moreton; but it is also attributed (by Martin) to Walter de Riboff, who appears, however, to have liberally endowed the hospital and church, but to have only confirmed former grants. The revenues of this hospital were ample, and it had a large church. Tanner says that its revenues were reduced to £26 per annum, of which the master took 40s., and that the remainder goes towards the support of the building and the maintenance of five poor persons. This hospital had a seal. It was circular and more than two inches in diameter. It represented a figure with a nimbus, a crozier in the left hand, the right elevated. The inscription was ✠ SIGILL : SACT : JACOB : . . . DONWIZ : Some remains of the church still exist. (See *Archæologia*, vol. xii, p. 166.)

Eye had a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, at the beginning of the reign of Edward III, circa 1329. It was situated without the town, and was under the government of the bailiffs and burgesses of the town until the dissolution. It is mentioned in old will books in the registry of the diocese of Norwich.

Gorleston, or South or Little Yarmouth, had a house for lepers 1372. It is mentioned in a will book of that date. (*Heydon*.)

Ipswich had a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, in the parish of St. Helen, as early as the reign of John, who in 1199 granted a fair to be held on the morrow of St. James the Apostle for its support. It is now demolished. It had been annexed to another leper hospital of the same place, named after St. James. The bishop of Norwich collated the masters to both, and they usually went also with the church of St. Helen and the chapel of St. Edmund the Archbishop, or of Pountney, to the same appropriated. It is mentioned in 1234 as a hospital for leprous persons, and the present parsonage is a part of the original building. (See *Taylor's Index Monasticus*.)

Stratton in Levington had a lazar house, which is mentioned as being endowed with a moiety of the tithes of Stratton. (*Taylor's Index Monast.*)

Sudbury had a leper house, founded and endowed by Amicia, countess of Clare and daughter of William earl of Gloucester, in the time of king

John. It was dedicated to Jesus Christ and the Virgin. Tanner and others suppose it to be the same as that granted in 1551 to John Clarke, esq., and given, under the title of the messuages of St. Sepulchre, with all their appurtenances in the town of Sudbury, by Amicia, countess of Clare, to the monks of Stoke. Taylor, however, says that the property mentioned in this grant is quite different from that mentioned in her charter of foundation of the hospital of St. Mary. (*Index Monast.* p. 116.)

SUSSEX. At *Chichester* there was a leper hospital, dedicated to St. James and to St. Mary Magdalen. It was situated without the East gate, and was as ancient probably as Richard I or king John. In the 26th Henry VIII it was valued at £4 : 14 : 10 per annum in the whole, and £4 : 3 : 9 clear. It was in existence in the latter part of the seventeenth century, but had then only a master and one poor person in it.

Herting had a leper hospital, founded by Henry Hoesse, who was also the founder of the priory of Devreford. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, in the reign of Henry II.

WARWICKSHIRE. *Coventry.* Tanner mentions Sponne hospital, near Coventry, situated in the west part of the city, founded in the reign of Henry II by Hugh Kevelioc, earl of Chester, for the reception of lepers. It was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, and for some time belonged to Basingwerk abbey in Flintshire, afterwards to the priory of Coventry, and by the 14th Edward IV it was granted to the canons of Studely. Pennant¹ says it was founded by the earl of Chester out of affection to William de Auney, a knight of his household, afflicted with the leprosy.

Warwick had a leper hospital, dedicated to St. Michael, and founded by Roger, earl of Warwick, at the end of the reign of Henry I or the beginning of king Stephen. It was valued in 26th Henry VIII at £12 : 5 : 2 per annum, according to Sancroft, in the whole ; at £10 : 1 : 10 clear, according to Speed ; and £10 : 1 : 8 as *per* Dugdale. In a survey made 37th Henry VIII it was certified to be worth £10 : 19 : 10 over and above all reprises. It is still kept up for eight poor women.

WESTMORELAND. At *Appleby* there was a leper hospital, the site of which was afterwards a farm house. It was dedicated to St. Nicholas. John de Veteripont gave the hospital to the abbey of Shap, and this gift was confirmed by Walter, bishop of Carlisle, upon condition that they should maintain three lepers for ever. Henry VIII, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, gave the hospital and all its possessions and revenues to Thomas lord Wharton. Philip lord Wharton and his son sir Thos. Wharton sold it, in the 12th James I, for £700 to Israel Fielding, of Starforth, in the county of York. In 1632 it was purchased of William Fielding, esq., by Anne countess of Pembroke, who settled the farm upon her hospital at Appleby.²

¹ Journey from Chester to London, p. 201, ed. 1811.

² Nicholson and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland*, i, 343.

Kirby had a leprous hospital in the time of Henry II, and dedicated to St. Leonard. In the 26th Henry VIII it was valued at £11 : 4 : 3 in the whole, and £6 : 4 : 5 clear. It was granted, 38th Henry VIII to Alan Bellingham and Alan Wilson. The editors of Dugdale state that the advowson of this hospital was given, as early as the reign of Henry II, by William de Lancastre to Conishead priory or hospital in Lancashire.

WILTSHIRE. *Devizes.* Tanner says there was a hospital here for leprous persons before 1207.

At *Maiden Bradley* a leper hospital for women was established either at the end of the reign of Stephen or the beginning of Henry II by Manasser Biset. Herbert, bishop of Salisbury, changed the secular brethren and priests, in 1190, into a prior and canons of the order of St. Augustin. The hospital was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and at the dissolution its revenues amounted to £180 : 10 : 4. The *Valor Eccles.* of 26th Henry VIII, gives the whole receipts at £198 : 18 : 8. There are two seals of this priory—one a common seal, the other that of the prior and proctor—engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1823. Biset was server to Henry II before and after his accession to the throne. Dugdale gives the charters and other instruments relating to this hospital, vol. vi, p. 643 *et seq.*

YORKSHIRE. *Doncaster* had a leper hospital, dedicated to St. James, which was founded in the beginning of the reign of Henry III. Before the suppression, however, it had sunk down to a free chapel with a chantry in it.

Hedon had a leper house, styled hospital of St. Sepulchre or Newton St. Sepulchre. "Alan fil. Ouberni" gave seven acres of land to build this hospital early in the time of king John. It was for a master or prior, and several brethren and sisters lepers. Edward II confirmed the donations to the hospital; and at its dissolution it was valued at £13 : 15 : 10 in the gross, and £11 : 18 : 4 in the clear, 26th Henry VIII. The site was granted by Edward VI to Robert Constable.

Lowcrosse, or *Loncrosse*, had a hospital, dedicated to St. Leonard. Tanner says it was given to the priory of Giseburn by William de Barnaldby, and that the donation was confirmed by Peter, son of Peter de Brus.

Otteley, Tanner says, had a hospital for lepers, which existed 4th Edward II, as they were then obliged to repair the bridge over the adjoining river of Wharfe.

Pontefract had a hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, in 1286, at which time archbishop John Romain granted an indulgence to all those who contributed to the relief of the lepers within the house.

Ripon had also a hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, founded by archbishop Thurston, A.D. 1139. It was for a chaplain and sisters, and all the lepers of Richmondshire. By an inquisition taken in the

reign of Edward II, Nicholas de Molyns, then master, was proved to have neglected the charity; and at its dissolution, 26th Henry VIII, it was valued at £27 : 5 : 6 in the total, and £24 : 0 : 7 in the clear income. The building was put into repair by the rev. Dr. Hooke as late as 1674.

York. The hospital of St. Nicholas was founded for leprous people, and consisted of a warden, brethren, and sisters, as early as the time of the empress Maud. This hospital is conjectured to be the same with St. Nicholas without Walmgate Barr. (See Dugdale, vi, 709.) The first master recorded is Rob. le Grant, 1280.) In 26th Henry VIII it was valued at £29 : 18 : 8 in the gross, and £29 : 1 : 4 clear.

Dugdale makes mention (vi, 782) of several other hospitals, some of which were probably for the leprous; but the particulars respecting them are not specified.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE SAXONS OF NORTHUMBERLAND, AND THE NORTHERN BRITONS,

FROM THE BATTLE OF MENAO TO THAT OF KALTRAENZ.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

(*Continued from p. 56.*)

II. The first change in the boundaries of these tribes, during this period, was the absorption of Reghed and Argoed into Northumberland. After Kaltraez, the latter still further extended their dominions; and Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle* furnish us with abundant evidence that, after that victory, they occupied Edinburgh on the east, and Dumfriesshire, Galloway, and even part of Ayrshire, on the west; and this is corroborated by many passages in the *Gododin*. It is curious, however, that, in regard to the extension of the Saxon power over Reghed and Argoed, although the British bards are sufficiently explicit, we have nothing absolutely positive in the Saxon writers. There may be vague notices, such as that of Bede already quoted (i, c. 34), in which he states that Ethelfrith drove the inhabitants of certain British territories clean out, and planted Angles in their place; but while there is nothing of a direct character more distinct than this, there are many incidental circumstances related which throw some light

on the subject. Up to the time of Ethelfrith we find the Britons constantly making incursions as far as Bamborough, which appears to indicate that it could not have been at any very great distance from the frontier. After the battle of Egesanstone, we hear no more of such incursions, while Ethelfrith selects this city as his capital, rebuilds it, and names it after his queen. As it is scarcely credible that he would have taken such steps if it still remained close to an exposed frontier, these circumstances appear to point to the fact that his dominions had been extended towards the north. In the reign of Edwin, Bede (ii, c. 13) informs us, "that Paulinus, at a certain time, coming with the king and queen to the *royal country seat*, which is called Adgefrin, stayed there with them thirty-six days, fully occupied in catechizing and baptizing; during which days, from morning till night, he did nothing else but instruct the people, resorting from all villages and places, in Christ's saving word; and, when instructed, he washed them with the water of absolution in the *river Glen, which is close by.*" A royal country seat or villa, we may be sure, was not built in any proximity to a hostile tribe, and therefore its existence near the river Glen must remove the boundary of Northumberland beyond the Tweed. Edwin had enough to contend with in Guendota, and consequently cultivated the friendship of his more northern neighbours. The same was the case with Oswald, therefore neither of these kings can be supposed to have extended the Saxon territory in that direction. But scarcely has Oswald's successor, Oswi, ascended the throne, before we find, as the results of the efforts of bishop Aidan, who was brought from Scotland by Oswald, that various monasteries and religious houses have been established throughout the kingdom of Northumberland; and among these are enumerated Melrose, presided over by the Saxon Eata, Coldingham, etc. It is thus evident that the dominions of Oswi contained the whole basin of the Tweed. As his kingdom, however, had not been extended in this direction since the time of his father Ethelfrith, this territory must have been conquered by that king, for it did not belong to his predecessors; and as Reghed was his only acquisition in this quarter, these facts corroborate the position I have assigned to it.

III. In examining into the sites of the individual battles,

I, to a certain extent, labour under the same disadvantage as the count Villemarqué. It is evident that all the earlier combats, up to the death of Urien, took place in what is the modern Northumberland, a district with which I have nothing but the most general acquaintance. I shall therefore confine myself to pointing out the circumstances related in the Songs of the Bards, and the other ancient records which furnish the only data now attainable for determining these sites, and expressing the hope that some of our associates in the north of England may be induced to investigate the subject on the spot.

1. *Menao*. The only geographical circumstance noticed in the song which celebrates this battle, is the fact that the British had crossed the frontier with the purpose of foraying the territory of the Saxons. I have already identified this battle with that recorded in the Ulster annals, A.D. 581. "Bellum Manan in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac Gauran." The same authority records a subsequent battle at the same place, A.D. 710: "Strages Pictorum in campo Manan apud Saxones." Turning to the similar year in the Saxon Chronicle, we have, "Bertfrid the ealderman fought against the Picts between *Heugh* and *Carau*." In some editions these places are given as *Heafe* and *Ceare*, and Sharon Turner mentions that Gibson conjectures that they are Carehouse and Heefield, a little beyond the wall. This is, certainly, by no means an improbable solution; but I am too little versed in the topography of Northumberland to be able to say whether any other locality might not answer the description as well, if not better.

2. *Gwenn Estrad*. The Saxon position was defended by a fortification. There was a stream at the place deep enough to drown many of them in their retreat, and it was near the white rock of Kalestan, (Galysten Llechwen). Villemarqué states that this battle was fought at Queen's Ferry, on the Firth of Forth, west of Edinburgh, where he supposes there was one of the principal passages through the northern wall. But, independent of the fact that the wall does not come within some miles of this place, I can state, from an intimate knowledge of the locality, that it would be rather difficult to find a stream of the size required; besides which, if it was fought there, the Saxons must have been the assailants, instead of which they are evidently re-

presented as acting on the defensive. Mr. Turner contents himself with stating that *pleasant valley* is the literal translation of the words Quen Ystrad. At one time I was inclined to suppose that it might be identified with the first battle of Arthur's, mentioned by Nennius, viz., that at the mouth of the river Gleni, or the modern Glen. But I have been led to alter this opinion, in consequence of Mr. Wakeman's most successful definition of *Strugul*.¹ I was not previously aware that the Welch Ystrad implied the Roman Strata; for this, in my opinion, at once determines that Quen Ystrad must be looked for on the line of some of the branches of Watling Street, which pass from Northumberland into Scotland; and I have no doubt that, with a little local search, the white rock of Kalestone will be found in the vicinity of the courses of some of these roads, most probably in Reedesdale, or in the valley of the Coquet.

1. *Argoed Loueven*. The notices of the locality of this struggle are very scanty. The Saxons demanded hostages from the tribe of Argoed, who with their allies take post on the mountain. The Saxons extend from the forest or wood to the hills. It was, in fact, an attempt by the Saxons to penetrate into the mountain-fastnesses which formed their western boundary. We know that at one time there existed a forest extending from near Thirwall-on-the-wall to the N. E., called Leu's or Lowe's Forest: might not this be the wood referred to, especially when Loueven, which is not always appended to Argoed, represents a wood of elms? but this is a mere conjecture.

4. *Kirchine, Kirkuin, or Kirkinn*. This battle is only recorded by the Scotch writers, Adamnanus and the Irish annals, while they merely mention the name, and the fact that it was fought within the dominions of the Saxons.

5. *Egesanstane*. The Irish annals place this, likewise, in Northumberland. Nennius states that when Urien was assassinated he was on an expedition. It would also appear that this engagement took place near the sea; for Lywarch-Henn, in his Lament for Urien, exclaims that he has carried off the head of that chieftain from the *promontory of Pennok*. In another passage of the same, he would seem to imply that Urien fell at the harbour of Leu: "*Au havre de Leu a été tué Urien*." But from other poems of the same bard it appears doubtful whether this be the cor-

¹ See *Journal*, vol. x, p. 249.

rect reading, and whether this harbour was the scene of Urien's death or the place of his ordinary residence, known also as Aberllychur. Thus, we find in his lament for the death of his sons, *Loin d'ici le havre de Leu, plus loin encore nos deux élans. O Talan, j'ai mérité tes larmes aujourd'hui.* We also know from Bede and the Saxon Chronicle that the Saxons were, on this occasion, commanded by Theobald, the brother of king Ethelfrid, who had been left to defend the northern frontier with an inferior force, while the latter pursued his conquests on the south and south-west.

Dalston, near Carlisle, and Dauston, near Jedburgh, have been respectively assigned as the site of this battle; but the first may be at once put out of the question, because, on either supposition of the locality of Reghed, whether in Cumberland or on the Tweed, this place could not be in the territories of the Saxon. If Reghed was the basin of the Tweed, the vicinity of Jedburgh is equally objectionable, as Urien could not be said to be on an expedition when within his own dominions. Let us, however, suppose that Urien was king of Cumberland, and that the basin of the Tweed was possessed by the Saxons. Can we be asked to suppose that any general in the situation of Theobald, left to make head with an inferior force against a numerous enemy, would have dreamed of offering battle in such a position, in a remote and exposed corner of his frontier, with the Scots and Selgovæ opposed to him in front; Strathclyde and Edinburgh over-lapping him on one flank, and holding his communications at their mercy; while, Cumberland and Argoed assailed him on the other. Nay, what is more incredible, that these tribes should have not only resigned the advantages of such a position, but actually executed a toilsome and circuitous march to put themselves in a worse situation. Believing, as I do, that Urien of Reghed possessed the vale of the Tweed, the situation appears to me most simple. The British tribes collected their forces behind the mountain barrier, which separates England from Scotland, and then burst in concentrated strength into the northern part of the modern Northumberland. Theobald, on the other hand, followed the tactics which had been adopted by earlier Saxon kings, and fell back on the

strong fortress of Bamborough, from which the tide of northern invasion had at least once before, in the days of Theodoric, been rolled back: under its walls he would naturally offer battle; and I have no hesitation in fixing upon Easington, a hamlet a short distance to the north of that town, as the locality of this great Saxon victory. It, moreover, possesses another of the characteristics of this battle-field as recorded by Lywarch, that of being near the sea, while both Dalston and Dauston are in the interior. Count de la Villemarqué also places the death of Urien at this place, but on totally different grounds, having supposed that this chieftain fell when besieging Theodoric, in Farne Island, while we know that he survived that event many years.

6. *Kaltraez*. Unlike the poems of the other bards, the Gododin of Aneurin commemorates not a single engagement but the events of a campaign. The Saxons, Scots and Picts appear to have encountered the forces of the confederate Britons somewhere on the frontiers of Strathclyde. Having there obtained the victory after a severe struggle, they advanced to Alclyd, or Dumbarton, the capital of that kingdom, which they besieged and captured. As there is no doubt of the site of Alclyd, the only question is as to the locality of the previous battle.

Some authors have supposed that the Britons of Strathclyd, Galloway and Cumberland had, on this occasion, assembled for the purpose of some great religious rite, and that the Saxons and Scots took advantage of this to attack them. Independent of the inherent improbability of this idea, it is manifestly inconsistent with the geographical distribution of these nations at this time, which would hardly admit of so sudden a junction of their forces. The ancient records, moreover, furnish us with a much more satisfactory explanation of the several alliances. The suspicion that Aidan had instigated the assassination of Urien had naturally created a feeling of hostility between the Scots and the British tribes. In the time of Aidan, the Scots were a most powerful nation, but they had become much enfeebled when Domnal Brec, who fell at Kaltraez, was their king. Adamnanus, *Vita Columbæ*, (III, 3,) relates a prophecy of that saint, that the Scots should continue prosperous until they made war against the kindred tribes

of Ireland. "Hoc autem vaticinium temporibus nostris completum est in bello Roth Domnaldo Brecco nepote Aidani sine causâ vastante provinciam Domnail nepotis Amureq. *Et a die illâ usque hodie adhuc in proclivo sunt ab extraneis quod suspiria doloris pectori incutit.*" We learn from this that the Britons, taking advantage of the weakness of the Scots, endeavoured to encroach on their territories. The latter would naturally look round them for allies; and as Oswi, of Northumberland, had spent his years of exile among them and the Picts, and had been there converted to Christianity, we are not surprised that they should solicit his assistance. The Britons would also endeavour to strengthen themselves; and the men of Guendota, smarting under the recent defeats they had received from Oswald, of Northumberland, would only be too ready to join them.

From the notices of the topographical features of the battle previous to the attack on Dumbarton, which are contained in the Gododin, it is evident that the position of the British was defended in front by a considerable river, which the enemy at last succeeded in crossing. "Le premier il s'élanca sur le rivage écumeux"—"qui donne le butin à la marée montante, et si elle ne l'eût arrêté jamais il n'eût reculé"—"quand il descendit, chaque maison descendit, et si les vagues ne fussent venue couvrir le rivage il n'eût point reculé."—"Il était descendu dans la mêlée avec les premiers levés; il avait versé le fléau, il y mit un digue."

The count de la Villemarqué places this battle at Calder, on the northern Roman Wall, the forts of which he considers to have formed the main strength of the British line of defence. The Quarterly Reviewer adds, "one of the forts which guarded the old wall might be traced almost down to Camden's time at east Calder, and another at hill Calder, while a stream still denominated Calder empties itself into the Clyde, in the very neighbourhood of Dumbarton, *Ecce Tybris et Campus Martius.*" My objection to this is where is your Tiber? The Calder-on-the-wall has no connexion with the stream of the same name, which is several miles distant. It lies on the river Kelvin; but, even that will not answer the requirements of Kaltraez, because it runs between Calder and Dumbarton.

ton, and, therefore, would be an obstacle to the retreat of the British rather than to the advance of their enemies. The river Calder does not fall into the Clyde, near Dumbarton, but at the distance of several miles above Glasgow. It would certainly afford a line of defence against an enemy descending the Clyde; but it appears almost impossible that this could have been the line of advance adopted by the Saxons. We know that they, at this time, occupied the basin of the Tweed, their northern boundary being the mountainous ridges on the left bank of that river, and their purpose was to join and assist the Scots of Argyleshire. Supposing that they encountered the British either on the Calder or at the village of the same name, there are only two routes by which they could have marched: 1. They might have forced their way through the kingdom of Edinburgh, and then crossed over to the Clyde, along the line of the Roman wall, in which case, however, the line of the Calder would have been of no use. This course, we know, they did not adopt, because the Gododin contains many passages in reference to Tudvoul 'rh, king of Edinburgh, which are utterly inconsistent with the idea that the Saxons had forced a passage through his dominions.

2. They might have crossed from the upper part of the Tweed to the Clyde, near Biggar, and then have descended the latter river. But, in this case, they must have passed through a country which, in my paper on the Lanarkshire camps,¹ I have shown to be positively bristling with fortifications. They must have passed the advantageous positions of defence afforded by the lines of the Medwyn, the Mouse, and the Garron: yet we read of no collision with the Britons before they reach Kaltraez. Can we possibly believe that the people of Strathclyde allowed an enemy to traverse the greater portion of their territory without attempting opposition? How, moreover, did it happen that the Saxon army did not come into contact with the forces of the Selgovæ and Guendota, who must have advanced to Kaltraez by precisely the same route? Again, if this battle was fought at either of the Calders, Glasgow and its cathedral lay at the mercy of the invaders, even without advancing to Dumbarton. Is it conceivable that an army, described as "*les bandes d'un*

¹ See vol. x, pp. 1-32.

goujat avide d'argent," should neglect such a tempting object of pillage as a see which we know, from Joceline's life of St. Kentigern, had large possessions even in the days of its founder, and which must have been enriched with many subsequent gifts and endowments; for one of the British chieftains is distinguished in the Gododin as he "who gave gold to the altar:" or, on the other hand, had they plundered this city, would the bard have been silent, on such a lamentable event, in enumerating the misfortunes which resulted from the defeat of Kaltraez? Would he not rather have recorded the outrage as a companion to the massacre of the monks at Bangor? Where do we find, near the Calders, any locality which furnishes an origin for the name Strath Cairvinn, by which the Scottish historians designate this battle? Lastly, this theory is open to the fatal objection that the Saxons, even after reaching Calder, could not have there effected their junction with the Scots, because the whole county of Dumbarton, occupied by the Britons, was still interposed between them. In fact, they would have laboured under the same disadvantages as Hasdrubal, at the Metaurus, with this aggravation, that the Cisalpine Gauls were by no means unfavourable to the Carthaginians; while the whole population in the rear of the Saxons was preeminently hostile. Such a state of circumstances is utterly irreconcilable with the Kaltraez of the Gododin, for there the junction with the Scots had been evidently effected before the battle was delivered: we must, therefore, seek some other locality than either of the Calders.

Here, again, Geoffrey comes to our assistance. In book iv, c. 6, we find these passages: "Having, therefore, settled peace here, he directed his march to Alclud, which Arthur had relieved from the oppression of the barbarians, and from thence conducted his army to Mu-rief, where the Scots and Picts were besieged: after three several battles with the king and his nephew, they had fled so far as this province, and, *entering upon the Lake Lumond, sought for refuge in the islands that are upon it*:" and, again, "while he was harassing them in this manner, Guillamurius, king of Ireland, came up in a fleet with a very great army of barbarians, in order to relieve the besieged. This obliged Arthur to raise the siege and turn

“his arms against the Irish, whom he slew without mercy, and compelled the rest to return back to the country.” Now, I believe this story to be nothing but an exaggerated, distorted and ultra Welch account of the battle of Kaltraez. The name Murief (Morayshire) appears to be improperly used, as if it included Argyleshire, and with this correction the topography would be consistent. I am, therefore, led to conjecture that the mention of Loch Lomond is founded on some old British tradition, connecting it with this battle. With this clue I have examined the country in the vicinity of that lake, and have come to the conclusion that *Catter*, on the south bank of the Endrick, near where that stream falls into the loch, is the Kaltraez of the Gododin. The reasons which have induced me to form this opinion are,

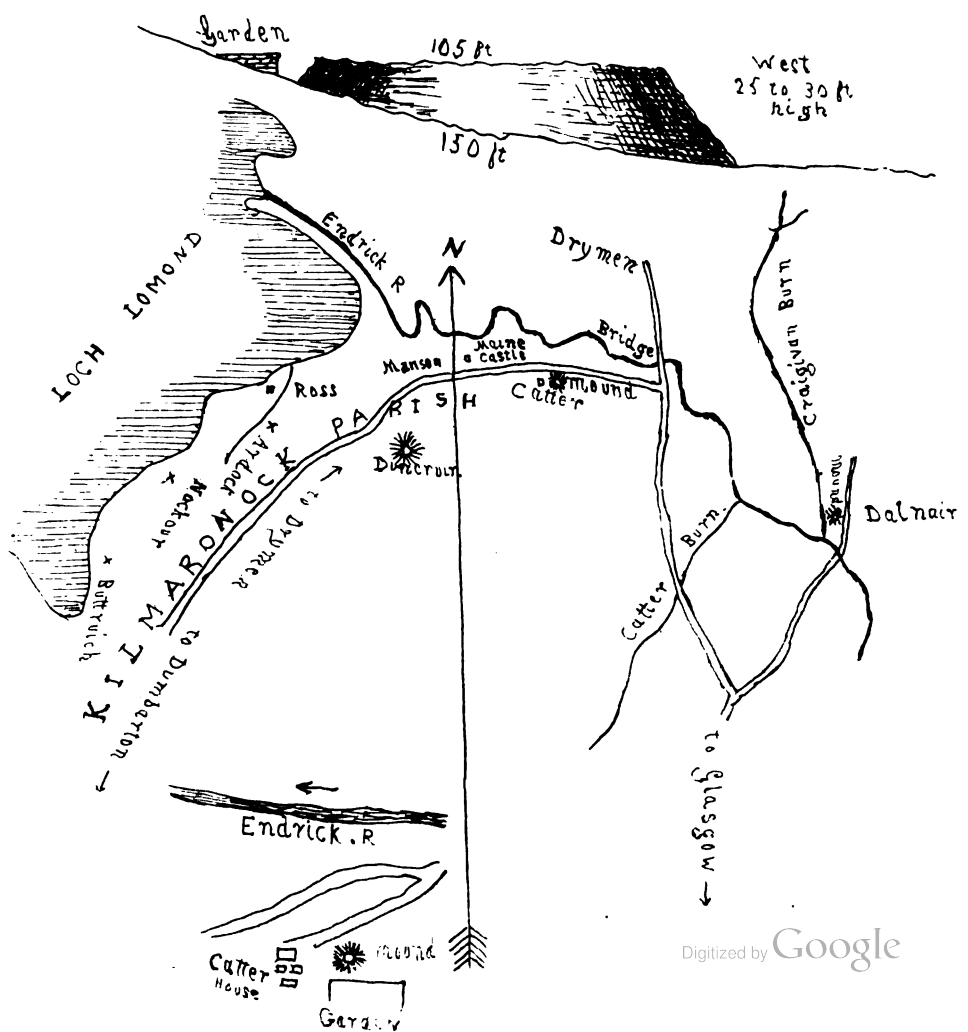
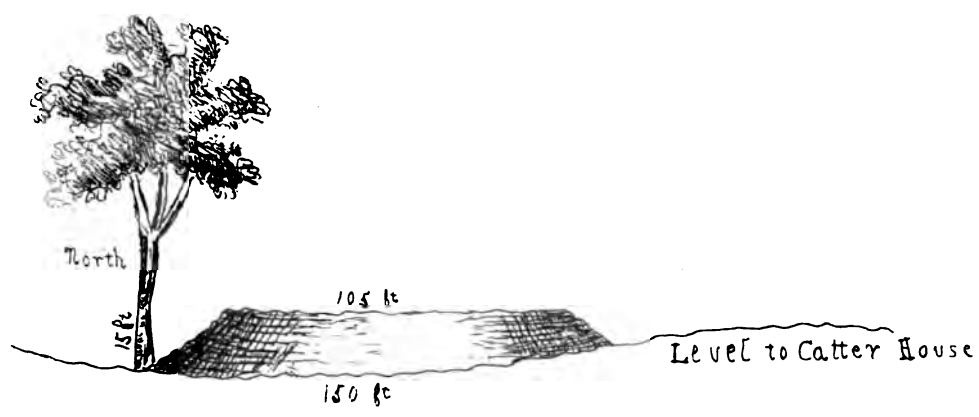
1st. That the Endrick formed the boundary between the kingdom of Strathclyde and the Scots and Picts. That it is a considerable deep running stream, only fordable in a few places, and presenting a most favourable position for the defence of the Strathclyde frontier, and in every way consistent with the facts in the Gododin.

2nd. There would be no difficulty in combining the force of the Scots and Saxons for an assault on this point. Oswi, of Northumberland, had married the daughter of the king of the Picts, and that nation fought on his side, at Kaltraez. He had thus a most perfect access to the assistance of the Scots on the shores of Loch Lomond, by embarking his forces at the mouth of the Tweed, landing them on the upper part of the Forth, in the dominions of the friendly Picts, and marching in perfect security through their territories till he effected his junction with the Scots, in the neighbourhood of Drymen or Killearn.

3rd. As soon as the passage of the Endrick was forced, the route to Dumbarton was clear along the shores of the loch, and the banks of the Leven; without any natural obstacles to delay the advance, or any artificial attractions, such as the plunder of a cathedral, to excuse delay.

4th. A few names of places are mentioned in the Gododin which appear to have been in the vicinity, such as the promontories, Aedon and Nock; which, I believe, are represented by the modern Ardock and Nockour.

5th. There falls into the Endrick, on the north side, opposite to Catter, though a little higher up, a stream



called Craigivan, Craigivrain, or Craigivanner, descending from a hill of the same name. As the course of this stream is the very line which the Saxons, Scots and Picts would naturally follow in advancing to the attack of Catter and the fords of the Endrick, might not this be the origin of the name Strath Cairvin, by which the Scots refer to this battle? A very little indistinctness in the pronunciation of a poet or bard recounting the story, might easily corrupt Strath Craigivan into Strath Cairvinn.

6th. There exist at Catter and near Dalnair, on the other side of the Endrick, two most remarkable artificial mounds. I am able, by the kindness of the Reverend James Smith, of Dumbarton, to lay before the association a rough sketch of the former of these, accompanied with a hand plan of the district (see plate 9); and may add that the mound at Dalnair is the exact counter-part of that at Catter. Unfortunately, local tradition will not, in this case, furnish us with any clue to the origin of these mounds, because circumstances arising in times unquestionably subsequent to their erection, have stamped them with a character and attributes which have effectually destroyed any older association. Even those of our members who have never directed their attention to the antiquities of Scotch law, must recollect, from the titles of the Baron of Bradwardine, that it was the custom of the kings of that country to grant to their powerful subjects, among other feudal privileges, the right of *Fossa et Furca, Pit and Gallows*: that is, of imprisoning and hanging any thieves caught on their land. In most parts of Scotland the overlords, in transferring lands to their vassals, contented themselves with *not* conveying this right to those holding under them. But those of Dumbartonshire, perhaps from their vicinity to the Highland cattle lifters, appear to have put a greater value on this privilege; and the grantees, in their charters, are taken bound to bring their thieves to the superior's place of execution. The mound at Catter seems to have been peculiarly suited for this purpose, from its prominent situation; and, in consequence, we find that this Old-Bailey character has attached to it, to the exclusion of everything else. Nevertheless, I defy any archæologists to examine these mounds without being convinced that they are much earlier than the times of hereditary

jurisdiction ; that they are of a sepulchral character ; and that they are the tombs of men of note. Without the opportunity of excavating, it is of course impossible to venture anything but conjecture : still, I cannot resist the impression that the mound at Catter is the resting place of the British chieftains who fell at Kaltraez ; and that Domnal Brec, or rather, perhaps, his son Cathusaídh, sleeps beneath the sister-tumulus of Dalnair.

Postscript.—Since writing the above, I have learned that *Reghed* has been sometimes placed in the lower part of Annandale. That county is certainly level ; but, independently of the reasonable doubt whether *Lochar Moss* could, at the time referred to, be called a *cultivated plain*, the mention of the Selgovæ in the *Gododin* is fatal to any theory of the kind.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF TRELLECH.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

AMONG other interesting localities in the county of Monmouth, which want of time prevented the members of the British Archæological Association—present at the Congress at Chepstow, held in August last—from visiting, is the secluded village of TRELLECH, on the old road leading from Chepstow to Monmouth, about ten miles from the former town and five from the latter. The remains, most interesting to archæologists at this place, is a prehistoric monument, consisting of three upright stones standing in a small meadow, close to the village, ranged in a line running nearly east and west : that on the west is the largest, and is about 15 feet above the ground ; at the distance of 21 feet stands the second, 10 feet high ; the third is 15 feet distant from the last, and is 8 feet in height. The two largest decline considerably from the perpendicular ; but, whether designedly so placed, originally, or not, it is impossible to say. No inscription or carving can be detected upon either ; nor the slightest mark of a tool. From these stones the village takes its name ; whether written according to the present generally-adopted orthography, *Tre-llech*, the town of stones, or the more ancient one, *Tri-llech*, the three stones. The differ-

ence is only important, inasmuch as it is called by the latter name, Tri-llech, in a grant of the seventh century, recorded in the *Liber Landavensis*, whence we may fairly infer that there were no more than three stones then standing; and, as there is no reason to suppose the name to have been then recently imposed, we may conclude there never had been; and that the monument, as we now see it, is precisely as it was originally constructed. As long as the road through this village was the only one between Chepstow and Monmouth, these remarkable stones could not fail to attract the notice of every passing traveller; and they have been figured and described by every tourist: but since the more convenient road, through Tintern, has been formed, the old route has been disused, except by the inhabitants of its vicinity; and they are seldom seen by strangers. Fancy has created "*a low mound, with scattered fragments of stones, which appear as though once placed in a circular form,*" on the opposite side of the road. I am unable to discover anything of the sort; and, I believe, no such circle ever existed, except in the imagination of the writer. Before the inclosure, there was a single stone, standing on the common, about a mile-and-half north of the village, about seven feet high, and surrounded by a trench; this has been destroyed and broken up to mend the roads, although hundreds of tons, more easily available for the purpose, incumbered the ground all around it. There is reason to suppose another stood about a mile to the south of the village, the probable site of which I shall have occasion to refer to hereafter. That these *lithoi* are really of Druidical origin, and not memorials of a victory obtained over the Welsh, by the Saxon earl Harold, shortly before the Norman conquest, is the most generally-received opinion, and is strongly confirmed, if I may not say proved, by the local names in the neighbourhood. The latter, or Saxon origin of these stones, was first asserted, as far as is now known, by lady Maud Probert, widow of sir George Probert, the head of a very old family in the parish, whose husband died in 1676. This lady erected a sun-dial at the entrance of the churchyard, which has attracted a great deal more attention than it deserves; but, as it is shown as one of the lions of the village, it may be as well to describe it. On the front is

inscribed, "Eundo hora diem depassit," and below, "Dom. Magd. Probert ostendit." On one of the sides the three stones are represented; above which we read, "Major saxis;" and below, "Hic fuit victor Haraldus." On another, "Magna Mole;" below which is what is intended to represent a large tumulus in the village; and "O quot hic sepulti;" and on the third a well, with "Maxima fonte," referring to a mineral spring, formerly in considerable repute for its medicinal properties. The existence of the stones in the seventh century, as proved by the grant before-mentioned, sufficiently refutes the opinion that they were erected by earl Harold: the worthy lady was equally mistaken, in supposing the tumulus covered the bodies of the slain; it had no connexion with the stones, except the accidental one of being in the vicinity. It was the site of a small castle, which, in the reign of Edward I, belonged to the Clares, earls of Gloucester, and was probably erected by one of that family, or the Marshalls, whom they succeeded in the lordship; with the exception of the mound, which was, most probably, surmounted by the keep tower, and some traces of entrenchments, there are no remains of it. It was, probably, a small building, erected on the border of the forest of Wyewood, and, like Cas-troggy in Wentwood, and Castell Bychan in Wentllwch, was the residence of the ranger, or keeper; afforded occasional accommodation to the lord in his hunting excursions; and was used as a prison for offenders against the forest laws. Trellech, as a member of the great lordship of Usk, descended from the Clares to the Mortimers; was vested in the crown on the accession of Edward IV; was granted, by Edward VI, to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke of the second race, and is now the property of the duke of Beaufort. The castle had, however, been alienated at an earlier period, and has belonged, for several generations, to the family of Rumsey, and is now known as the Court; a modern house having been erected on its site, in the grounds of which the tumulus now stands.

To return to the Druidical stones. The forest, or chace, of Wyewood comprises Trellech and several other parishes, the greater part of which was, down to a comparatively late period, a dense forest of oaks, of which the still exten-

sive woods on the banks of the Wye are the remains. At the remote period to which we must refer the erection of these *lithoi*, there can be no doubt the whole district was so, and that they were placed within the precincts of a consecrated grove. The existence of the medicinal spring in the immediate vicinity, may have had some influence in the choice of this particular spot for the celebration of the mystic rites of Druidism. The situation is peculiarly appropriate, and precisely that in which such remains might be expected to be found; but, in addition, we find in the immediate neighbourhood other remains, and local names, which leave no room to doubt the real origin of the monument in question. The Druids, as the ministers of religion, the administrators of the laws, and instructors of youth, were distinguished from the laity, as we are told, by their peculiar costume,—which scarcely admits of a doubt. They wore robes of white, blue, or green, according to their rank or office, as we are informed by Dr. Owen Pugh and others. Whether this be correct or not as to the colours, we may readily admit that they wore robes or gowns differing from the rest of the community, and that they resided in the vicinity of their places of worship. About a mile or less south of the village, upon the summit of a knoll, is a small entrenchment, hitherto unnoticed, called by the significant name of “Cae'r Higga” (*recte* Hugau), the enclosure of the gownsmen. I can imagine no other gownsmen to whom this name can be referred than the Druids attached to the temple, or whatever it may be called, at Trellech. Here, I suppose, they resided, and held their *gorseddau* or assemblies. Further on, in the same direction, is the little parochial chapel of Trellech's Grange, a comparatively modern name, given it from its having belonged to the monks of Tintern, by whom it was assarted from the forest, and made a grange of, under a grant from the Marshalls, in the reign of Henry III; but the original name in the records, and still in the court rolls of the manor, is Cil-wyddon, from *cil*, a place of retirement, and *gwyddon*, a wise man, a philosopher, an appellation for a Druid,—possibly the chief Druid of the establishment was intended, who may have resided here apart from his brethren at Cae'r Hugau. In the grant before referred to, recorded in the *Liber Landavensis*, this place is called “*Llan-maenvon in Trellech*”, and

identified by the description of its situation, between the two brooks Angidy Vawr and Angidy Vychan; and in another grant of the tenth century, recorded in the same book, it is called "*ecclesia Mainvon, id est villa Gwiton*" (Gwyddon). There was some superstitious reverence attached to places at the confluence of streams, which is not altogether forgotten at the present day. This name, Maen-von, is perhaps a mutation of *maen* and *bon*, a stone stump, which leads to the inference that there was formerly another upright stone here: most probably at a place not far from the church, called *Twmp*, i.e., the tumulus, although the stone, and the mound upon which it stood, have alike disappeared. It is possible that other local appellations, having reference to the Druids, might be discovered upon a careful examination of the neighbourhood, which, at present I have no leisure to undertake.

A tomb in the churchyard, of a somewhat unusual construction, has been, absurdly enough, designated in Heath's guide-book a Druidical altar! It is composed of a common flagstone, near a foot thick, eight feet long, three feet nine inches wide at the head, and two feet ten inches at the foot. The upper surface is tooled, but bears no inscription or device; the edges are chamfered. It is supported at either end by upright stones, about two feet six inches high: upon one of them are two circles, each containing a cross fleurée, roughly executed in relief. It may be as "old as lady Probert's sun-dial", or perhaps of much later date. Near it is a flat stone, resting on the ground, on which is a plain cross, fleurée; from which it is probable both belong to the same family.

The parish church contains no monument, nor anything, that I am aware of, interesting to the antiquary. I hesitate to give an opinion of the age of the present fabric, but I imagine it is not a very ancient building. A headless effigy (once, no doubt, the top of a tomb) is built into the wall of the chancel, outside, and erect. It is rather difficult to determine whether the figure was intended for a male or female. It was, no doubt, originally within the church, and placed where it now is when the chancel was rebuilt. The oldest family resident in the parish, of whom we have any account, was the Proberts, who claimed descent from the native princes of Gwent. John ap Howel

ap Jenkin, of this family, was living at Pont-glass (Green Vale), in the reign of Henry VI. He was gentleman usher in the household of Richard duke of York, who, in the 14th Henry VI, appointed him master forester, and keeper of the forest of Wyewood, and granted him two stags in summer, and two hinds in winter; and two wild boars, and one shoulder, and the nombles of the same, of every deer killed within the said chase, excepting only those killed when the said duke or his heirs should be there hunting in their proper persons. But if the said John ap Howel should kill any more red deer than were granted, he should forfeit ten shillings for every such deer. And he granted him, moreover, the right shoulders of all manner of wild cattle within the said chase or forest and the liberties. Whenever the said duke or his heirs should hunt in the said forest or chase, the said John ap Howel should attend him or them, and, at his proper cost, provide two broad arrows, ready headed, and sufficient force for him or them to shoot the deer; and he was also to preserve, to the best of his power, all eyries of hawks and swarms of bees.

John ap Howel ap Jenkin was buried in Tintern Abbey, where his elaborately-worked tomb-stone is still to be seen in the south transept. Edward IV appointed William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, head forester and keeper, and he died seized of the office; his successors I have not been able to discover. At the accession of the Tudors, the estates of the house of York in this county appear to have been much neglected; their principal seat, the castle of Usk, was suffered to fall into decay.

The deer were, probably, gradually destroyed by the neighbouring landowners, who claimed common of pasture in the chace, and estovers, viz., fire bote, plough bote, house bote and hedge bote, under which claim the timber and wood was cut down, and as no care was taken to replant, in the course of time none remained. As early as 1581, great disputes occurred between the then earl of Pembroke and the landowners, on account of the destruction of the timber; and proceedings in Chancery ensued, which terminated in a reference under an order of the court. The award was made on the 18th December, 1581, by which 1140 acres was to be set out proportionably in the

different parishes, for the use of the landowners, and the earl to have the remainder: several regulations were made for the government of the landowners in the exercise of their rights, so as to prevent the utter destruction of the wood. For some reason this appears never to have been acted upon. Early in the last century fresh disputes arose, in consequence of the then lord wishing to inclose and plant some portions of the chace or forest, and serious riots ensued which caused the attempt to be abandoned. In 1809, an act of Parliament was obtained, by which the whole 5000 acres was inclosed and divided; previous to which the whole of the timber and wood had disappeared.

The son of John ap Howel ap Jenkin, was Robert ap John; and his son, according to the Welsh system of patronymics, was called Thomas ap Robert, which, contracted into Probert, was adopted by the family as their permanent surname. The sixth in descent from Robert ap John was sir George Probert, who died 6th January, 1676, whose widow, Maud, daughter of sir Charles Williams, of Llangibby, was the lady of the sun-dial. The last male heir of the family was Henry Probert, esq., who died without issue, early in the last century, leaving three sisters, his co-heiresses, between whom the property was divided. They bore Party per pale *azure*, and *sable*, three fleurs de lis, *or*.

ON THE CHRONICLE OF TYSILIO AND TERRITORIES OF VORTIGERN.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

THE rev. Beale Poste having favoured me with a reply¹ to the observations I made on his papers, I may, perhaps, be indulged by the insertion of a few words in rejoinder.

Whether Dr. Owen Pughe was "*certainly a much greater authority*" than Edward Williams, on such a question as the originality of Geoffrey's book, is a matter of opinion.

¹ See vol. x, p. 226 and p. 367; and *Journal* for March last, p. 56.

The celebrity of the former, as a lexicographer, did not qualify him to determine the point in dispute better than his friend. Both were sufficiently prejudiced in favour of their native country, its literature, and its traditions; and Williams's opinion, so unequivocally expressed, is of the more value as being contrary to his known prepossessions. Mr. Beale Poste divides the question into two:

1st. Whether Geoffrey had an original, or were a forger altogether?

2nd. Whether that original, or rather a close approximation to it, be still extant; and be that which is called, at the present day, the chronicle or history of Tysilio?

I do not understand the qualification in the second, "a close approximation to it." I understood the original proposition to be that the Chronicle of Tysilio *was* the original, which Geoffrey translated: with respect to the first question, I do not accuse Geoffrey of forgery; nor do I think him fairly open to the accusation. He only did that which, as Mr. Stephens observes, "in his day, and for many centuries afterwards—indeed, as late as the wizard of the north and Jedediah Cleishbotham—was a very usual practice with writers, to give very extraordinary accounts of their originals; thus, not only blunting the edge of criticism, but also creating a fictitious interest." I will take leave to recommend this work, on the literature of the Kymry, to Mr. Beale Poste's perusal, if he has not already read it: the author is much better authority than Owen Pughe, or Williams. Gainer had seen Geoffrey's book, and adopted his account: his evidence proves nothing as to its truth or falsehood, and is, therefore, not "conclusive" upon the question.

The story of Rhys ap Tudor's having instituted a festival of the "round table" rests upon no better authority than the very doubtful one of an anonymous paper of uncertain date, but probably not older than the seventeenth century; published with several other equally apocryphal and worthless documents in what is called the Jolo MSS.

It is very questionable whether the legend of Arthur's round table had been invented when Geoffrey published his history, the first edition of which Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, has shown to have been issued not later than the year 1138. Now the romance of the round table, as

far as appears, was the invention of Geoffrey's friend, Walter de Mapes, who published his work about the year 1170; this was afterwards turned into verse, by Chretien de Troyes: as a continuation and conclusion to this, Walter afterwards wrote *La Morte d'Arthur*, and, after that, the tale of *Lancelot du Lac*. Neither Rhys ap Tudor nor Geoffrey could have known anything of this legend.

The remainder of Mr. Beale Poste's, in the paragraphs numbered 1 to 5 inclusive, is "*petitio principii*," which, like a double-edged sword, may be made to cut either way, according to the assumption of the affirmative or negative of the questions at issue. Nevertheless, although I have no great affection for Geoffrey, I must really defend him from some of the accusations brought against him. First, assuming that the Chronicle of Tysilio was the original, it is said that he was ignorant of the meaning of various ancient British words. He did not know the meaning of "*ron*" (*rhon*) a spear; to which I beg to observe that "*rhon*" does not mean a spear in general, but a particular sort of spear; and, as Geoffrey wrote his book in Latin, for the edification of the public and not exclusively for Welshmen, who would have understood the word, he tells his readers that Arthur armed himself with a lance called a *rhon*; in the same way that at the present day anyone, without incurring the imputation of ignorance, might state that a person was armed with a sword called a cutlass. Then, as to *celli*, which is by no means an obsolete word, but still in common use, it means a coppice, or thicket of hazel trees: Mr. Beale Poste has mistaken it for the plural of "*cil*," a cell, viz., "*cilydd*," a word as different in sound as in sense from "*celli*." The *ll* in Welsh has a peculiar sound, not easily acquired by an Englishman, but the nearest approach that can be made to explain the pronunciation of "*celli*" is to write it "*kethlee*." The word "*cil*," plural "*cilydd*," may be correctly enough expressed by "*kill*" and "*killyth*." I am at a loss to understand the grounds for the assertion that Geoffrey mistook Carytia for Lutetia or Paris; the passage referred to merely says that king Leir landed at a place called Carytia, which appears to have been some port on the coast of Gaul, but not a word about Lutetia or Paris.

The imputation of ignorance of the existence of two

Merlins, Geoffrey must share with many more learned men than himself, some of whom even go so far as to doubt the existence of either, except in the pages of romance. The poems that pass under the name of Merlin are considered not older than Geoffrey himself.

The chapter in which the fountain of Galabes is mentioned, is so evidently a myth that it may be placed anywhere we like. The name will not bear a literal translation, but it implies that the water was of the same description as that which Gulliver employed to extinguish the fire at Lilliput. As there are no mineral, or warm springs in Ewias, it is possible that Geoffrey had in his eye a certain fashionable place of resort in the country of the Gerwissians. He did not relish the waters, I suppose, and therefore stigmatized them with this filthy epithet.

It may be true that, by a poetical licence, a prince may be called "cawr," but the primary and literal meaning is a giant. Neither Lewis Morris, who first started this objection, nor Owen Pughe, who followed him, produced any example of its use in the sense of prince; and except in some poems, in which it may be taken either way, I am not aware that any example can be found.

Great latitude must be allowed in translating official titles. "Tywysog," a derivative of "tywys," to lead, means simply a leader, as the Latin "dux," from "duco." The sovereigns of Wales were called, by their own people, "tywysog," which the English always rendered prince, not duke. What constituted a consul in Geoffrey's days is, I believe, not exactly known; all that we do know is, that several noblemen were so called; among others, Gilbert de Clare was styled consul, in a charter, about 1128, and Geoffrey's patron, Robert duke of Gloucester, who at the same time was called by the Welsh "tywysog Morganawg," in right of his wife. It would seem that consul and tywysog were conventionally considered the same; and that whether Geoffrey translated tywysog, consul, or the author of Tysilio rendered Geoffrey's consul, by tywysog, there was no impropriety in either, any more than there is in English historians constantly translating tywysog Cymru, *prince* of Wales.

With respect to Vortigern's castle, I am referred to a passage in Nennius, to prove that "goronwy" means the

governor of a district. After relating that Hengist had demanded of Vortigern the province of Kent for his daughter, the author goes on to say "Et dedit illis, Goirangono rege regnante in Cantia, &c.," and he gave it them when king Goirangonus was reigning in Kent. I must confess my inability to discover any proof in this passage that "goirangonus" is anything but the proper name of the regulus of the district; however, supposing it otherwise, it would still remain to be proved that "goirangonus" and "goronwy" are the same name or title. "Goronwy" is evidently derived from "gwron," a hero; and I believe it to be totally impossible for the most ingenious etymologist, except a thorough Pail-up-and-easian, to twist it into anything that would give it the sense of a ruler or governor.

I observed in my last that Ariconium, not being in Erging, could not be its capital; and I might have added that a castle, built by Vortigern, cannot be identified with a Roman station which was in existence long before he was born. I suggested that the camp on Doward, in the parish of Ganerew, was the place Geoffrey had in view; but I certainly do not mean to contend for the truth of the story, that the place was constructed by Vortigern, burnt down by Ambrosius, and that the former perished in the flames. Nennius places the event in a different locality, and attributes it to the prayers and fasting of St. Germanus, but acknowledges that others gave a different account. Most people will perhaps agree with Geoffrey, that probably the arms of the warriors had more to do with the death of the chieftain than the prayers of the saint. There is, however, another passage in Nennius, which I had overlooked, showing that Geoffrey was not altogether without some authority for fixing upon Ganerew as the site of *Caer Vortigern*. After relating the extraordinary myth of Vortigern's interview with the wizard boy, he goes on, in the forty-fifth chapter, thus: "Et ipse (Vortigern) cum magis suis ad sinistram plagam pervenit, et usque ad regionem quæ vocatur *Gueneri* affugit, et urbem quæ vocatur nomine suo *Cair Guorthigirn* ædificavit." The scene of the preceding adventure seems laid in the west of England, and therefore Erging and every other part of Wales would be considered to the north ("in sinistram plagam").

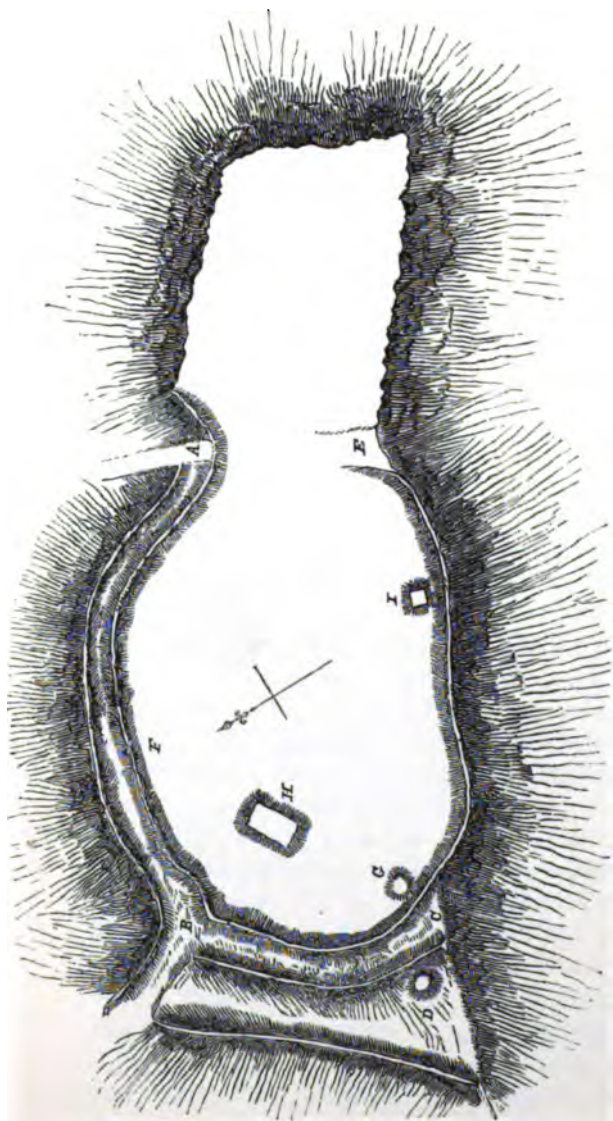
Gonoreu is, therefore, no corruption of Geoffrey's text. In some copies of Nennius we read "Guenesi" instead of "Gueneri": the *r* and *s* in manuscripts are often so much alike, that the mistake is easily accounted for. It matters not, for our present purpose, which was the original orthography. Geoffrey read it "Gueneri", and fixed it at Ganerew.

I am not prepared to admit as a necessary consequence, that because Caer Vortigern is mentioned in the list of twenty-eight British cities, it must have been a place of importance at the founder's death, although it may have become so when Nennius wrote. Be it as it may, this hill fort at Ganerew, as Mr. Beale Poste considers it, includes within its ramparts an area of not less than twenty acres, which is much larger than many Roman stations, or flourishing modern towns. The inner vallum measures near two thousand yards in length, and must have required a strong garrison to defend it. It was no such insignificant place after all. Some years ago, a skeleton of extraordinary size, a veritable cawr, was discovered in a cavern in the rocks in the neighbourhood of this camp. Had Geoffrey been aware of the existence of such a deposit, he would, no doubt, have made the most of it, and found a name for the giant.

I was not aware that Blestium was written "Glescium" in any copy of the *Itinerary*; but, being so, I can really see no etymological relation between that name and Eskel, nor between Burrium and Berthin. The river from which Monmouth takes its name, is called "Monnow", from the Welsh Myngwy, or Mynwy, pronounced *Munwee*; and, as this appellation can be traced back to the sixth century, I see no reason to suppose it ever had any other.

The British camp at Ganerew, which has been alluded to in this controversy as the place intended by Geoffrey of Monmouth (although the fact that Vortigern had anything to do with its construction is open to very considerable doubt) is deserving of a visit, were it only for the beautiful view which it commands, independent of its archæological interest. The hill was formerly a common, and accessible to any one; but an act of parliament was obtained, about twenty years ago, for enclosing it, and the camp is now included in the grounds of a private gentleman, and can only

be seen by his permission. Carriage drives have been made to the summit of the hill. Before that was done, the camp was inaccessible, except on foot or horseback. In carrying out this improvement, it has, however, been found necessary to cut through the rampart, and make other alterations, which, although apparent enough now, will in a few years render it difficult to distinguish the new work from the old, and the inquisitive antiquary may be led into error. The plan which I send with this paper (see plate 10) shows it as it was before the enclosure. The name of the hill is derived from the Welsh *dwy*, or, in the Silurian dialect, *dou* (two), and *garth* (a headland), which, in construction, becomes "Dou-arth", and corruptly, "Doward", which may be translated, the twin headlands: in fact, the hill has two summits, separated by a hollow or depression, called in Welsh a "pant". The eastern head is called Great Doward; that on the west, upon which the camp is found, Little Doward. They are the extremity of a chain of high lands which form the southern boundary of the county of Hereford for many miles. A depression in this ridge, on the west of the Little Doward, forms a pass, over which the road from Monmouth to Ross is carried, about a quarter of a mile from the camp, which commands it. There must have been a road here from the earliest period, as there is no other break in the chain of hills through which one could have been formed, without making a detour of many miles; and there can be little doubt that the road in the *Itinerary*, between Blestium and Ariconium, following the line of the ancient British trackway, passed this way, and crossed the river at Goodrich. The defence of this important pass was probably the principal object in view in constructing this fortress,—long before Vortigern had existence, and at least as early, if not previous to the Roman invasion. It had besides the advantage of being within sight of several other military posts, to or from which the approach of an enemy might be signalled by beacons in a very short time. Among others, the following, nearly due east, at the distance, in a direct line, of two miles and a half, is the camp at English Bicknor, on the opposite side of the river; to the north-east, distant about five miles and a half, is the strong camp on the chase hill, above Ross; a little more towards the north, that on



PLAN OF THE BRITISH CAMP
ON LITTLE DOWARD HILL, IN THE PARISH OF OLANEKEW, IN
THE COUNTY OF HEREFORD.
1843.



Malvern hills is in view, about twenty miles off; on the north, Camp Field may be seen, situate on the left of the road from Ross to Hereford, distant about five miles and a half,—from its form perhaps a Roman work; turning to the south-west, Twm Barlwm is distinctly visible, at a distance of twenty-three miles; and, if I am not mistaken, more to the south, the strong post at the Lodge above Caerleon, distant about twenty miles; and the Roman station of Blestium in the valley below, about two miles and a half off. Very possibly others may be seen from this spot; but the above are easily distinguished by any one acquainted with the country. The plan shows the form of the intrenchments. At A (see pl. 10) is a road distinctly marked for some little distance below the camp; but instead of passing through the vallum, it goes over it, the bank being only a little depressed in that part. From A to C the vallum is double, and very high; having been cut through in making the modern carriage drives, it seems to have been composed, for the most part, of stones. At B there appears to have been another entrance; but as it was impossible to cross the inner vallum here, they must have gone along the foss to A, which would seem to have been the only place of access to the interior of the place, and that so steep as to be impracticable except on foot or horseback. On the north-west end, below the double vallum, between B and C, there is another single bank; but this has been tampered with in making the new drive, which runs along the top of it, and has apparently been widened in so doing. At D is a tumulus.

From C to E the bank is single, about eight or nine feet high, on the edge of the ravine through which the Wye finds its way, at an estimated depth of between six and seven hundred feet below the camp. At E is a depression in the ground, without any rampart, for about twenty yards. At the first view this would appear to have been another entrance; but the precipitous declivity outside precludes the idea that it could have been used for such purpose before the present proprietor, at a great expense, cut a walk obliquely down the slope to gain access to it. From E to near A, the rocks or cliff form a sufficient natural defence, without any bank. In the interior, at F, a pyramidal rock stands upon the summit of the inner vallum, at the highest

point of the enclosure. G is a small tumulus, thirty feet in diameter, surrounded by a slight ditch, not more than four or five feet in height. At H is an oblong mound, about the same height, about twenty yards in length by six or seven in width, also ditched round; and at I is a square platform, of thirty feet each side, also surrounded by a ditch. The whole area of the camp, within the vallum, is somewhat more than twenty acres.

ON EARLY ENGLISH ARROW-HEADS.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

It is, perhaps, more difficult to determine the dates of arrow-blades than aught else in the whole catalogue of offensive weapons. They are seldom discovered under such circumstances as will enable us to fix their period with precision; and ancient manuscripts afford but little help towards this end, for from the Saxon era down to the time when the xylographist had absorbed the business of the illuminator, nine-tenths of the arrows therein depicted have large barbed piles of a character rarely met with in reality. Those which we most usually find have somewhat obtuse pyramidal points, like the examples figured in plate 36 of Skelton's *Illustrations of Ancient Armour from the Collection at Goodrich Court*. The discovery of arrow-blades is by no means an every-day occurrence.¹ We may instance the finding of two specimens in the Thames, when excavating for the foundations of the new houses of parliament, and both of which are given in our *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 148. In the one, the blade is short and lancet-shaped, whilst the other is what is termed spear-formed. They are certainly of early date; but beyond this nothing more can at present be said with regard to their antiquity.

¹ Some cross-bow bolts and arrow-heads discovered at Carisbrook Castle, were exhibited to the Association, June 13, 1849. See *Journal*, v, p. 347.

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EARLY ENGLISH ARROW HEADS FOUND IN LONDON.

I am, however, enabled to lay before you an arrow-blade (see plate 11, fig. 1) exhumed, in July 1848, in Angel-court, Throgmorton-street, along with remains palpably referrible to the close of the thirteenth century : among them the metal decorations of a broad leathern sword-belt, consisting of large rosettes of stamped latten, one of which I now exhibit, and which may be compared with the ornaments upon the baldrick of Humphrey de Bohun, on his monument in Hereford cathedral, who died A.D. 1321. The arrow-head is two inches and three-quarters in length ; the flat blade, of a long triangular outline, set on a socketed stem ; the transverse pin, wherewith it was secured to the *stele*, or shaft, still remaining in its place.

The socket, with fragment of the lower part of the blade of an arrow, of a nearly similar form, but of larger dimensions, is engraved by Skelton (pl. 16), and which sir Samuel Meyrick describes as "an unique specimen of the ancient English arrow, found in excavating around the base of Clifford's Tower, in York, in September 1828, and was probably shot into that position in some defence of the building during the wars of the rival roses ; as in Henry VIII's time, this fortress, according to Leland, was in ruins." This idea, of course, fixes the date of the specimen to the last half of the fifteenth century ; but blades of a like form were in use as early as Saxon times.

Our esteemed associate, Mr. William Meyrick, has kindly brought before us an exceedingly rare example of an arrow-head (see plate 11, fig. 2), recovered, about seven years back, from the old bed of the stream of Walbrook. It consists of a central socket, with a barbed wing springing from each side, and measures three inches and a half along its edge. It is, in all probability, the head of a *vire* or *veron*, a heavy arrow, which was discharged from a large cross-bow. It is in excellent preservation, and evidently of early fabric. The form of this specimen is familiar to us under the denomination of the *broad arrow*, but which is frequently, but most erroneously, confounded with the *pheon*, the *fer de dard*, and *ferrum jaculi*, of our heralds, a formidable missile weapon, the barbs of which were truncated, engrailed on their inner edges, and attached to the central sockets only towards the apex.

May I be permitted, in conclusion, to express a hope

that the exhibition of these rare and early arrow-heads will induce our members to bring forward any examples they may possess; and by which means we may in time be enabled to determine the dates, and illustrate the numerous varieties of sheaf and flight, or roving arrows, bolts, quarrels, raillons, traits, viratons, and other kinds, which have been employed both in war and chase.

ON SPECTACLES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

To what period or country, and to whom, are we to attribute the invention of spectacles? Is the credit due to some medieval philosopher, or are we to seek amid the dust and ashes of the classic ages for traces of this most precious instrument? We know little respecting the knowledge possessed by the ancient sages of the science of optics, and still less of their optical instruments. It has, indeed, been supposed that the sphere of glass filled with water, mentioned by Seneca, was the only instrument with which they were acquainted; but what does Plutarch (*De Curiositate*) mean when he hints of Lamia putting on her eyes when she went abroad? Were they imitations of the natural organs, or some contrivance to assist the vision? And what, too, was the *conspicillum*, which our lexicographers render a prospective-glass and spectacles, and which they illustrate with a line¹ from the *Cistellaria* of Plautus,—

“Vitrum cedo, necesse est conspicillo uti”?

That the ancients possessed something approaching to the nature of our spectacles, or rather eye-glass, seems to be a well-established fact, for in the early part of the year 1854 was discovered, in the Stabian-street at Pompeii, a plano-convex lens, about one inch and five-eighths in diameter, with the edge ground as if it had been set in a frame. The colour, like most of the glass found at Pompeii, is a pale green: though the surfaces are so oxydized as to pre-

¹ The genuineness of this line has been very properly questioned. It is not to be found in Plautus or any other classic author.—P.

vent its magnifying powers being tested, no doubt is entertained that it was designed for optical purposes. This treasure is safely deposited in the gem room of the royal museum of Naples.

I exhibit to the Association about half of a lens of Roman glass, exhumed in the city a few years back, which may have been cast in this form for a similar purpose to the one discovered at Pompeii. It is an omphaloptic lens, both surfaces being slightly convex ; and the edge is rounded off, but not ground. When entire, it must have been rather more than two inches and one-eighth in diameter, and full three-eighths of an inch thick in the centre. It is of the usual pale green colour of the Roman glass of both this country and Italy. It is the only example of an ancient lens I have ever met with ; and it is difficult to say for what use it was intended, if not for some optical purpose.

Though the ancient Celtæ of the Britannic islands may not have possessed magnifying glasses, they could not be ignorant of the magnifying properties of the crystal : they were, in one sense, the introducers of *pebbles* for optical purposes, for the polished sphere is as much a microscope as the glass globe filled with water, still sold at our fairs, and known as *Seneca's microscope*. And the crystal sphere, be it remembered, was looked through in the mystic rites of divination even down to the days of Paracelsus and Dr. Dee, and many of the marvels seen therein were probably due to its magnifying powers.¹

Spectacles, like numerous other valuable contrivances, may be of Asiatic origin. They are of unfathomable antiquity in China : not, indeed, of glass, for the transparent glass of the Chinese is villainously bad, but of rock crystal. The *gae-tae*, or spectacles of the Chinese, are of ample proportions, as may be seen from the example I now produce, which has lenses one inch and seven-eighths in diameter. They are set in polished black frames, united by an arched bar faced with brass, which is made to fold with a hinge, for the convenience of being placed in the case ; but, when in use, is held together with a drop-hook and staple. They are retained on the nose by loops of blue silk attached to the frames, which pass round the ears. Some examples have long cords with weights at the ends, which hang over

¹ For some observations on crystals of augury, see *Journal*, vol. v, p. 51.

the ears, and descend below the shoulders. These *gae-tae* are accompanied by their case, of a flattish oval form, made of light coloured wood, which is worn depending from the waist-belt. Some of the Chinese spectacle cases are of a very different shape, being more like those of Europe. I exhibit one of ornamental design, which may vie with the handiwork of any young lady of our own land for neatness of execution. It is formed of card, covered with white canvas embroidered with words in the seal-character, the Grecian fret, etc., in crimson, pink, blue, green, and yellow silk; and to the upper edge is sewed a long loop of yellow cotton tape. This case was brought to England in 1839.

Du Cange (sub voce *ocularia*) endeavours to show that spectacles were known in Constantinople as far back as the year 1150; and certain it is, that in the treatise on optics by the Arabian mathematician, Al-hazen, who flourished in the early part of the twelfth century, an account is given of the magnifying power of glasses. Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century, proved by actual experiment that a small segment of a glass globe would greatly aid the sight of elderly persons.

Looking, then, at all these circumstances, is it possible to assign to one age or country, and still less to one person, the sole honour of the invention of spectacles? yet that honour is unequivocally awarded by some to a monk of Pisa, named Alexander Spina, in 1299; and by others to Salvino degl' Armati, a Florentine, who died in 1317.

The earliest known representation of what are now called nose-spectacles, occurs in a fresco in the church of S. Trinità at Florence, executed by Domenico dal Ghirlandajo towards the close of the fifteenth century. In this painting is seen an old bishop chanting the litanies over the dead body of St. Francis, with a pair of large spectacles resting on his nose. At a period little subsequent to the execution of this fresco, they are exhibited on the nose of one of the so-called misers, in the painting at Windsor by Quintin Matsys.

The first engraved representation of a pair of spectacles is to be found in Hartman Schedel's *Chronicle*, printed at Nuremberg in 1493, and from which I exhibit the portrait of Sorobabel (Zerubbabel), the hereditary high-priest of the Hebrews, who led them back to their own land after

their captivity in Babylonia. He here appears resting his right hand upon a closed book, and holding a pair of large spectacles in his left, by what would seem a projection from the top of the arched bar, and which projection was probably perforated for a cord, by which the instrument might be suspended round the neck; for that it was so worn, even as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, is manifest from the portrait of Hugh Latimer engraved by J. Savage.

From these early sources of information, we find that the European spectacles were much like those of China. Their use was probably for a long time confined to persons of rank and wealth; but by the commencement of the sixteenth century they would seem to have become pretty common, for Erasmus, in his *Pilgrimage for Religion's Sake*, when speaking of the inscription at Walsingham, says—"how laboriously many had strived to read those verses: how many *spectacles* had been wiped in vain."¹ And at the close of this century allusions to them are very frequent. Shakespeare, for instance, speaks of them in *Much Ado about Nothing* (act i, sc. 1), where Benedick declares that he

"Can see yet without spectacles."

And Gloster, in *King Lear* (act i, sc. 2), exclaims,

"Come, if it be nothing, I shall not need spectacles."

Jaques, in *As You like It* (act ii, sc. 7), describes the

— "lean and slipper'd pantaloon,
With spectacles on nose."

Brutus, in *Coriolanus* (act ii, sc. 1), says,

"All tongues speak of him, and the bleared sights
Are spectacl'd to see him."

And in the second part of *Henry VI* (act iii, sc. 2), queen Margaret exclaims,

"And bid mine eyes be packing with my heart,
And call'd them blind and dusky spectacles."

The commencement of the seventeenth century found the old spectacle-makers a numerous and respected body,

¹ *Pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury*. Translated by J. G. Nichols, p. 35.

who soon formed themselves into a company, and were incorporated by letters patent, bearing date May 16th, 1630, by the style and title of "The Master, Wardens, and Fellowship, of Spectacle-Makers of London." They chose for their arms three nose-spectacles (two and one), with the motto, "a blessing to the aged." It is probable that it was about this period that a pair of spectacles was adopted as the sign of the optician's shop. John Marshall, the famous mathematical instrument maker in the reign of queen Anne, dwelt at "*The Archimedes and Golden Spectacles in Ludgate-street.*"

Mr. Planché has kindly called my attention to a curious passage in the *Relation of a Journey in Spain*, by the countess d'Aulnoy, 1679-81, from which it appears that spectacles were there worn, not only for use, but as an ensign of dignity. The writer states that she saw "many young ladies with great spectacles on their noses, and fastened to their ears." The marchioness de la Rosa informed her "that it was done to make them look grave; that they did not wear them for any need, but to draw respect." And she adds: "It is so common a thing to wear them, that I have heard there are different spectacles according to the different qualities and degrees of men and women: proportionably as a man's fortune rises, he increases in the largeness of his spectacle glasses, and wears them higher upon his nose: the grandees of Spain wear them as broad as one's hands, which, for distinction, they call *beales*."

But what has become of all the old spectacles? Are they hid in the corners of the *escritoire*, in the secret drawers of the casket, or have they all perished? Few cabinets can boast possession of even a single pair which have any claim to antiquity, or even to the title of old. Mr. G. Wright has, however, brought before our notice two examples of nose-spectacles, from the collection of our associate W. C. Whelan, esq., of Heronden Hall, Tenterden, which are of much interest. The earliest pair are referrible to the latter part of the seventeenth century: the frames are of tortoiseshell, the broad arched spring consisting of four lamina, formed by equidistant slits: the lenses are plano-concave, with broad, unpolished margins. The case is almost as curious as the instrument. It is a flat, oval box, of beechwood, the interior sunk in the form of the spectacles, and

the surface of the cover stamped with a border of crosses, the centre being adorned with a dice-pattern; and it is secured by a brass hook and staple. From the make and style of decoration of the case, there can be little doubt that this specimen is of German origin.

Mr. Whelan's second example is of somewhat more recent date, probably of the time of queen Anne. The frames are of light coloured tortoise-shell, united by a steel spring, which has a hinge at each extremity, so that one lens may be folded over the other when placed in the case. The case is of wood, covered with fish-skin, and is in the form of an heraldic rose.

To these examples of nose-spectacles, I beg to add a third, of a date not later than the commencement of the reign of George I. The lenses are of Brazil pebble, mounted in black frames, with the steel spring jointed in the centre, so that one lens may slide over the other, the lower part of the circular case being elongated to receive the spring. The case is of wood, covered with fish-skin.

Hogarth has immortalised the nose-spectacles by his figure of *The Politician*; and they are also seen in his sketch of characters who frequented Button's Coffee-house about the year 1720, in which Martin Folkes holds one of the glasses to his left eye, whilst he looks upon a watch in his right hand. This form of spectacles continued in fashion in England far into the eighteenth century; and they may still be seen on the nose of a *keatib*, or scribe, in the Turkish museum, Hyde Park Corner.

We have discussed the spectacles of Asia and Europe; let us turn now to America and see whether we can find any analogous instrument among the reputed savages of the Arctic Pole. The chemical knowledge of the Esquimaux is of the most simple character; they are ignorant of the manufacture of glass or even of pottery, they therefore cannot construct a lens, but they have contrived an instrument of wood and bone—an eye-shade, which is not only a protection to the visual organs but assists the visual power of the eye, and hence is termed by the Esquimaux *ittee-yaga*—*far sight*—the very signification of our word telescope. I exhibit three examples of the eye-shade, *the preservers*, the Esquimaux spectacles. The one from Oonalashka is of bone, and was formerly in the museum

of Thomas Dawson, Esq., of Grasmere, Cumberland. The other two are of pine wood : that with a convex front is a very old specimen, having been brought to this country by one of our early northern voyagers. The remaining one was obtained by Captain Beechey's expedition, in the years 1826-28. The sights are protected by a broad projecting piece, like the front of a huntsman's cap, the upper side being carved with three panels, the centre one containing the figure of an Esquimaux admirably executed, the minute details of costume being carefully introduced. All the specimens are cut to fit the nose, and the sights consist of long narrow horizontal apertures. They are held on the face by cords which pass round the head. We, who are familiar with the successful experiments, or the accidental discoveries of a Jansen, an Eskinard, and a Huyghens ; we, who exalt the fame of a Galileo, and boast of a Barrow, a Hooke, a Newton, a Gregory, of our own, may, in our pride of heart, affect to despise the humble efforts, the rude skill of the untutored Esquimaux. Compare these wooden spectacles with the gigantic telescopes of a Herschel and a Rosse ; the distance between them is immeasurable, and yet a like idea suggested both ; both were designed for the same end—to bring the far-off object within the visual compass of the human eye.

“Survey the globe, each ruder realm explore ;
From reason's faintest ray to Newton soar :
What different spheres to human bliss assigned !
What slow gradations in the scale of mind !
Yet mark in each these mystic wonders wrought :
Oh, mark the sleepless energies of thought !”

Proceedings of the Association.

MARCH 28.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- To the Author.* Géographie du Moyen Age étudiée par Joachim Lelewel.
3 tom., 8vo., avec cinquante planches en folio. Bruxelles, 1850-52.
„ „ Afbildninger fra det Kongelige Museum for Nordiske
Oldsager i Kjöbenhavn. J. J. A. Worsaae, Kjöbenhavn. 8vo. 1854.
J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. Five Provincial Tokens, belonging to Norwich,
King's Lynn, Diss, Coventry, and Bristol.

Mr. Halliwell accompanied his present of these tokens by the following note. "The few tokens now presented to the Association are offered to the notice of the members, not that they are of much value or variety in themselves, but rather in the hope they may form the nucleus of a more extensive collection for the society's museum. This class of relics belongs to a branch of antiquities that has been much neglected, and is at first sight more frivolous than important; but it is scarcely credible of how great value some of the tradesmen's tokens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries become in certain inquiries respecting costume, language, and manners, independently of their obvious use in the illustration of genealogy and topography. In more than one instance, they have been the only means of preserving to us representations of household articles and costume to be found nowhere else. It would indeed prove a great service if descriptive notices of all tokens struck before the year 1700 were gradually inserted in the *Journal*; the names, inscriptions, and sizes should of course be given; but the list would be more valuable if the devices were always correctly described. Such lists would occupy small space, and would ultimately become of permanent value."

The chairman observed that the Association had carried out Mr. Halliwell's suggestion as far as possible in the *Journal*, whenever the tokens laid before it had been found to have escaped the notice of Mr. J. Y. Akerman in his excellent work on tradesmen's tokens, and the researches of the late Mr. Beaufoy, whose collection had been given to the city of London, and admirably catalogued by Mr. J. H. Burn.

Mr. Pettigrew laid before the meeting an impression he had received from Mr. C. Bradbury of Salford, taken from a Sassanian gem, and remarked that Mr. Edward Thomas, of the Bengal civil service, had given in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (vol. xiii, pp. 373-428) some valuable notes introductory to Sassanian mint monograms and gems. These, he observed, were of considerable interest, inasmuch as they served to elucidate the ancient philosophy of Central Asia, which has of late become deservedly an object of much attention. The Pehlvi character inscribed upon these has been found to be the vehicle of expression for the monumental record of the kings of the Persian empire, and it occurs in all the official currency in the numerous mints of the Sassanian empire. The prevalence of the character on the signets and seals of every day use, is remarkable; and Mr. Thomas, from an examination of his collection of inscriptions and coins, is of opinion that the currency of this style of writing was dominant in Persia from A.D. 223 to A.H. 76. The gems can hardly be considered as offering positive proofs as to the period to which they belong; but their place in history may probably be fairly estimated by subjecting the characters impressed upon them to a critical comparison with the forms of the alphabet, aided likewise by other significant indications. The impression on Mr. Bradbury's gem resembles one given by Mr. Thomas, in plate III, fig. 86, illustrating his paper, the principal figure being that of a lion, over whom is a large star, and underneath the moon is a crescentic form. The British museum has recently put forth a collection of gems of this description, which deserves a particular examination. Some of these are of bell-like form, in which respect they agree with that of Mr. Bradbury.

Lieut. Morrison, R.N., observed that he had paid some attention to these subjects, and that it appeared to him that the lion engraved on the signet was astronomical, being the sign Leo, for the engraving, in his opinion, was clearly of a regal, horoscopical character, and had formed probably the signet of a prince or king. This he inferred from the sign Leo being—when the sun is therein, more especially—taken to signify *royal* personages; because, among the ancient Magi and also among the still more ancient followers of Buddha, the astrological doctrine that the sun has chief power or influence in the sign Leo, hence his "house" was universally prevalent. The sun was also originally a type of divine and subsequently of royal power or dignity upon earth. When, therefore, we find the sun in association with the sign *Leo*, as in this seal, we may feel confident it applies to a person of royal lineage. In the impression sent by Mr. C. Bradbury, the sun is represented by a star having eight rays. Lieut. Morrison expressed his opinion, that a star having a less number of rays never indicates the sun. In this seal the sun is placed at a space equal to about two-thirds from the head of Leo, which would indicate his position about the 13th day of August. The crescent, when found placed with

the sun in those ancient signets, imports the period of new moon; but when found in the distant or opposite part implies the period of full moon. He was, therefore, disposed to think that the seal is the signet or horoscope of a king born at the time the moon was at the full, and about the 13th of August. It is possible that the inscription round the seal, if decyphered, would lead to a knowledge of the proximate period of the king's reign. If so, astronomy would enable us to determine it exactly, and the seal would then become of some value in a numismatic point of view.

A paper on the antiquities of Trellech, by Thomas Wakeman, Esq., was read (see pp. 128-134 *ante*). The remainder of the sitting was occupied in the reading of several portions of a paper on the Leper Hospitals or houses, in the several counties of England, by Mr. Pettigrew. (See pp. 95-117 *ante*.)

The rev. Beale Poste forwarded a paper entitled "Further Remarks on the Chronicle of Tysilio and on the Territories of Vortigern," in reply to some observations by Mr. Wakeman in the *Journal* (vol. x, pp. 367-372). See *ante*, pp. 56-63.

The list of proposed officers, council and auditors, by the council, for 1855-56, was laid before the meeting, prior to the annual general meeting.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

APRIL 11.

S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following balance sheet and reports were presented by the auditors, and the thanks of the meeting voted to Messrs. Palin and Wimbridge for their attention.

RECEIPTS.

1854.	£	s.	d.
Annual Subscriptions	325	4	0
Donations, as per list, contributed to the fund established at the Annual General Meeting, April 1854	167	2	0
Donation from the late Mrs. Lee	1	0	0
Balance of Chestow Congress	17	19	3
Sale of publications	14	6	0
Donation of use of woodcuts of plan of Canterbury Cathedral; remains of Thomas à Becket; shrine of ditto, and seal of ditto, by J. Gough Nichols, Esq.			
Ditto, of plan of Llandaff Cathedral, by E. Freeman, Esq.			
Engraving of Carving at Usk Priory, by Thos. Wakeman, Esq.			
	£525	9	3
Balance due to Treasurer	146	5	7
	£671	14	10

April 10, 1855.

W. H. PALIN } Auditors.
J. WIMBRIDGE }

PAYMENTS.

1854.	£	s.	d.
Balance due to the Treasurer at the last audit	222	14	3
Printing and publishing Journal, Nos. 36 to 39	236	9	6
Binding vols. ix and x	12	3	6
Illustrations of Journal, Nos. 36 to 39 inclusive	99	16	3
Reprinting title and index of vol. i	4	16	0
Miscellaneous printing	7	9	0
Rent of Sackville-street rooms	13	13	0
Collector's commission, payments for delivery of the Journals, gratuities to servants, etc.	30	17	4
Purchase of books, carriage of antiquities, transcripts from manuscripts, etc.	7	16	0
Postage of circulars, etc., and advertisements	20	6	0
Stationery	4	9	6
Petty expenses	5	12	0
Unpaid donation made by Rev. T. Hugo, late Hon. Sec., acknowledged in the Journal; now refused to be paid	5	0	0
Expenses of dinner on occasion of the examination of the City antiquities, accounted for by the Treasurer at the previous audit,—the Rev. T. Hugo's proportion	0	12	6
	£671	14	10

Auditors' Report.

We, the undersigned auditors, elected at the Annual General Meeting of April 1854, having examined the accounts and vouchers of the treasurer, report that we have found them correct and accurately kept.

The amount received on account of annual contributions is £325 : 4 : 0. On account of donation fund (established at the last general meeting) £167 : 2 : 0, which, together with other amounts, makes the total receipts for the year £525 : 9 : 3.

The payments have amounted to £449 : 0 : 7, leaving, therefore, a balance upon the year of £76 : 8 : 8 in favour of the society, which, being deducted from the balance due to the treasurer at the last audit, reduces the sum to £146 : 5 : 7.

We beg, therefore, to call the attention of the council to the necessity of applying to those associates who have not yet contributed to the donation fund, in order to relieve the Association from every liability.

It is pleasing to observe a diminution in the expenditure of the society during the past year, under almost every head ; and which we are confident will be rendered further evident in the course of the present year.

There have, however, during the year, been losses to the society among its members, by deaths, 11 ; and by retirements, 22 ; making 33 in number : to supply which, 42 new associates have been added, giving therefore an additional strength to the society of 9 associates, to which is also to be added one foreign corresponding number.

W. H. PALIN,
J. WIMBRIDGE, F.S.A.

April 10th, 1855.

Associates deceased in 1854.

Thomas Saunders, F.S.A.
Charles Augustus Helm.
Thos. F. Armistead.
Anthony St. John Baker.
Rev. Leeds Comyn Booth, M.A.
Patrick Chalmers, F.S.A.

Ralph Bernal, M. A.
Francis Watts, F.S.A.
Edward Wedlake Brayley, F.S.A.
Rev. John Whittaker, D.D.
Wm. Smith Hesleden.

Associates withdrawn, 1854.

Monsieur Lemonnier.
Sir Charles Douglas.
J. Green Waller.
Wm. Pickthall.
Lt. Jewitt, on account of Plymouth
Library.
John Carline.
Henry Wm. Rolfe.
Thomas Faulkner.
J. S. Buckingham.
Alfred Pryer.
A. Lamond.

J. Lamond.
Edmund Sharpe.
J. E. Lee.
Henry Curling.
Aug. O. Deacon.
Richard Fort.
A. H. Burkitt, F.S.A.
J. Payne, Collier, F.S.A.
Harry Oliver.
Richard Windle.
Robert Morrish.

Associates elected in 1854.

Hon. Wm. Venables Vernon.	J. H. Le Keux.
John Davidson, M.D.	C. Robinson Griffiths.
Charles Savory.	Thomas Smith.
Capt. Arthur Chilver Tupper.	Adam Sim.
Colonel Galvagni.	George Ballard.
Wm. Langslow Horton.	Walter Francis Robinson.
John Calvert.	Peter Burke.
Rev. J. Edmund Cox, M.A., F.S.A.	Benjamin E. Spence.
George G. Adams.	George T. Robinson.
William Warwick King.	Trevor Morris, M.D.
Mrs. Percival.	Thomas Falconer.
William Douglas Bennett.	Henry Hucks Gibbs.
John Grantham Robinson.	Robert Lang.
Vincent P. Sells.	Rev. Francis Trappes.
Rt. Hon. Sir Benjamin Hall, Bt., M.P.	Isaac Redwood.
James Edmeston.	Mrs. Bernal.
Henry Parfitt, M.D.	Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff, D.D.,
William Walton.	F.R.S.
Talbot Pope Dobson.	W. E. Toye.
John Franklin.	Rev. E. Turbeville Williams, M.A.
William Goddard.	John Barnett.
Alfred Elwes.	

Corresponding Foreign Member—Mons. Maurice Ardent, of Limoges,
Archiviste de la Ville de Limoges et du Departement Haute de Vienne.

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO DONATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		
Ralph Bernal (<i>President</i>)	-	5	0	0	David Roberts, R.A.	-	2	2	0
S. R. Solly (<i>Vice-President</i>)	5	0	0	Jesse Watts Russell	-	2	2	0	
T. J. Pettigrew (<i>do.</i>)	-	5	0	0	Walter Hawkins	-	2	2	0
Sir Fortunatus Dwarrris (<i>do.</i>)	5	0	0	Thomas Wakeman	-	2	2	0	
Dr. John Lee (<i>do.</i>)	-	5	0	0	Pudsey Dawson	-	2	2	0
Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson (<i>do.</i>)	3	0	0	William Yewd	-	2	2	0	
James Heywood, M.P. (<i>do.</i>)	2	0	0	J. O. Halliwell	-	2	2	0	
J. R. Planché (<i>Hon. Sec.</i>)	-	5	0	0	Wm. Newton	-	2	2	0
Rev. Thos. Hugo (<i>do.</i>)	-	5	0	0	C. T. Swanston	-	2	2	0
Charles Baily (<i>do.</i>)	-	1	1	0	Eleazer Lawrence	-	2	2	0
Dr. W. Beattie (<i>For. Sec.</i>)	3	3	0	Thomas Richards	-	2	2	0	
Alfred White (<i>Registrar</i>)	-	5	0	0	Thomas Lott	-	2	2	0
J. Whichcord	-	5	0	0	J. C. White	-	2	0	0
Arthur Ashpitel	-	5	5	0	Charles Whiting	-	2	0	0
Nathaniel Gould	-	5	5	0	Major Moore	-	2	0	0
Charles Bridger	-	5	0	0	George R. Norman	-	2	0	0
R. Horman-Fisher	-	5	0	0	Joseph Mayer	-	2	0	0
George Vere Irving	-	5	0	0	H. Syer Cuming	-	1	1	0
John Ellis	-	5	0	0	Edward Pretty	-	1	1	0
William Wansey	-	5	0	0	William Devonshire Saul	-	1	1	0
Beriah Botfield	-	5	0	0	William Euing	-	1	1	0
J. Mather	-	5	0	0	Major Sheppard	-	1	1	0
Charles Warne	-	3	0	0	Thomas Gunston	-	1	1	0
Rev. A. F. Pettigrew	-	2	0	0	Rev. Beale Poste	-	1	1	0
Rev. S. T. Pettigrew	-	2	0	0	J. R. Jobbins	-	1	1	0
Dr. W. V. Pettigrew	-	2	0	0	William Rutter	-	1	1	0
W. Calder Marshall, R.A.	-	2	2	0	W. D. Haggard	-	1	1	0

J. Huxtable	-	-	1	1	0	John Barrow	-	-	1	0	0
C. H. Luxmoore	-	-	1	1	0	Frederick Vallé	-	-	1	0	0
George N. Wright	-	-	1	0	0	Christopher Lynch	-	-	1	0	0
John Bartlett	-	-	1	0	0	Joseph Clarke	-	-	0	10	0
W. H. Palin	-	-	1	0	0						
Henry Lawes Long	-	-	1	0	0				£167	2	0
Anthony St. John Baker	-	-	1	0	0						

The thanks of the meeting were voted in an especial manner to T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., the treasurer, for his undeviating and invaluable services to the Association.

Thanks were given to the officers and council for their services during the past year.

The chairman appointed Mr. Edward Pretty and Mr. Samuel Wood scrutators, and a ballot was taken for the officers, council, and auditors for the ensuing year. The following list was reported by the scrutators, and thanks voted for their report.

PRESIDENT.

THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

F. H. DAVIS, F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR F. DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. SOLLY, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	E. G. HARCOURT VERNON, M.P.
JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.	SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Rouge Croix</i> .	H. SYER CUMING.
<i>Secretary for Foreign Correspondence</i> —WILLIAM BEATTIE, M.D.	
<i>Curator and Librarian</i> —GEORGE N. WRIGHT.	
<i>Draftsman</i> —HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.	

COUNCIL.

W. F. Ainsworth, F.S.A.	Christopher Lynch.
Arthur Ashpitel, F.S.A.	William Calder Marshall, R.A.
W. Henry Black.	William Meyrick.
Rev. J. E. Cox, M.A., F.S.A.	David Roberts, R.A.
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.	Capt. A. C. Tupper.
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.	William Wansey, F.S.A.
J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.	John Wimbridge, F.S.A.
Roger Horman-Fisher.	Albert Woods, F.S.A., <i>Lancaster Herald</i> .
George Vere Irving.	

AUDITORS.

Thomas Gunston.	John Turner.
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The reading of the obituary notices of members deceased during the year 1854, was postponed to the evening meeting on the 25th of April, in consequence of the indisposition of the treasurer.

APRIL 25.

S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT,
IN THE CHAIR.

The following associates were elected :

John J. Chalmers, esq., F.S.A.E., Auldbar, Brechin.

Jeremiah Crafter, esq., Stamford-street.

Miss Lucy Barnes, Chorleywood House, Rickmansworth.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

To the Society. Proceedings of the Royal Society. No. XI. 8vo.

„ „ The Cambrian Journal, published under the auspices of the Cambrian Institute. Vol. I. London, 1854. 8vo.

„ „ The Cambrian Journal. No. V. March, 1855. 8vo.

„ „ Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 2^e serie, 10^e volume. XX^e vol., de la Collection, 3^{1ème} livraison, 1855. 4to.

From the Publisher. The Gentleman's Magazine for March and April. 8vo.

From the Hon. R. C. Neville. List of Potters Names upon Samian Ware in the collection of Mr. Neville at Audley End. 8vo.

From J. G. Patrick, Esq. A Medallion of Ignatius Loyola.

Mr. William Meyrick exhibited a very perfect harp-shaped fibula of yellow bronze, belonging to the later Roman period. The front of the bow is beautifully wrought, and the spring of the acus elaborately convoluted. It was exhumed about five years since at Bicester, in Oxfordshire, a locality whence many Roman and Saxon remains have been procured at different times.

Mr. Meyrick also laid before the meeting a highly interesting dagger of the time of Edward I or II, found a few years back in the Tower ditch. The blade, which is eight inches and a quarter long, has concave sides; the thick back is beveled till towards the point, when it becomes flat. The guard and pommel are both round, like a *dague à roëlle*, and measure about two inches and an eighth in diameter. Daggers of this early date are of great rarity: two examples similar to Mr. Meyrick's, but of greater length, and of the time of Edward III, were recovered from the Thames some years since: one of them was in the possession of a late associate, Mr. E. B. Price; the other is in the collection at Goodrich Court. The old Saxon fashion of wearing a dagger on the opposite side to the sword was revived in the reign of Edward I, and the specimen brought before the notice of the association is a specimen of the earliest type of this revival.

Mr. Patrick presented a small circular medal of brass, of Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. On the obverse is the profile bust of

the saint looking to the left, contemplating the sacred monogram. Legend S. I. G. N. A. T. S. I. F. (*Sanctus Ignatius Societatis Jesu Fundator.*) The reverse bears the sacred monogram within a rich circle. Loyola was canonized by Pope Gregory XV, in 1622, but the medal is probably not more than a century old.

Mr. Sherratt, junr., exhibited a richly-carved club from one of the islands of the Marquesas group, similar to the example from Fatuisoa engraved in the last number of the *Journal*, (p. 88.) The nimbed heads form conspicuous objects, and prove the frequent occurrence of this holy emblem upon the productions of the savages of the Pacific islands. The upper part of the handle of the club is bound round with cinet and adorned with *trophy locks* from the heads of vanquished enemies.

Mr. H. Syer Ouming exhibited the impression of an ecclesiastical seal of brass, in the possession of the rev. W. Calvert, M.A., minor canon of St. Paul's and rector of St. Antholin's.

The matrix was discovered, in Mr. Calvert's presence, in a stone coffin along with human remains, in 1854, in digging up the site of the altar of St. John the Baptist, a church which stood at the corner of Cloak-lane, and was destroyed in the great fire, and never rebuilt. The seal is of the *vesica* form, and apparently belongs to the fourteenth or early part of the fifteenth century. The device is a fleur-de-lis, and it reads, "S. Cristine de Wertingg." Werting may be the same place as Worting, a parish in the hundred of Chuteley, in Hampshire.



The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of the following obituary notices intended to have been delivered at the Annual General Meeting, but postponed in consequence of the indisposition of the treasurer, by whom they had been prepared.

OBITUARY FOR 1854.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT AND
TREASURER.

The number of deaths among our associates for the past year amounts to eleven, less than we have sometimes had to lament, yet sufficient to prove that

——“the inexorable grave
Hath claim'd its portion.”

In reviewing the list I regret to see the names of some who, from the earliest period of our Association have been connected with us and who attended the first experimental congress held at Canterbury. Others are distinguished by the several parts they took at our meetings and the exhibitions of antiquities made by them; and some who have instructed

the world by their antiquarian publications and researches, and reflected credit upon the Association to which they evinced their attachment. To take them in the order of time by which they were connected with us, I commence with

ANTHONY ST. JOHN BAKER, esq., of Mount Calverley Lodge, Tunbridge Wells, many years secretary of legation and consul-general in the United States, who joined us at the Canterbury congress in September, 1844, and subscribed to our funds upon the establishment of a regular general subscription in 1845, which he continued up to the period of his decease. He took much interest in all the proceedings of the Association, and attended several of the congresses. He died on the 16th of May last, at an advanced age. He had collected together a valuable library particularly rich in works relating to the history, laws, and statistics of the United States of America, which was dispersed in December last by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson.

THE REV. LEEDS COMYN BOOTH, M.A., met with his death by a fall from his horse at Bryngwyn, near Oswestry, on the 9th of June last, at the age of fifty-four years. He joined us, also, at the Canterbury congress, and attended the one we held in Gloucester. He was the only son of lieutenant-colonel Leeds Booth, of the 32nd regiment, and inspecting field officer of Essex, who died in 1835, by Eliza Sophia, eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Richard Comyn, esq., of Highlands in Writtle, Essex. Cambridge was his Alma Mater, and he took his bachelor's degree in 1835, and that of master of arts in 1840. He was for some time curate of Harlington, Middlesex, and afterwards of St. James's, West Malvern. He married, and had two children, one of whom, a son, survives him. Mr. Booth took much interest in antiquarian pursuits, and was highly esteemed by us for his amiable and pleasant manners. His premature death has been greatly lamented, and his body was deposited in the vault of the Comyn family at Writtle.

The name of EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY, F.S.A., is one well known to antiquaries. He was born in Lambeth in 1773, and died on the 23rd of September last, at the age of eighty-one years. The numerous works that issued from his pen during this period attest his learning and his assiduity. His attached friend and colleague, Mr. John Britton, with whom many of his labours were associated, has favoured the public with a brief statement of the several works of his deceased friend, in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December last, being appropriately recorded in a journal where many of his communications appeared, and to which extensive repertory he had occasion to make frequent reference.

Mr. Brayley was a most pains-taking antiquary ; a fact that may be considered as well established when we find Mr. Britton uttering com-

plaints of his friend's fastidiousness, and scolding him for the time and labour he bestowed on the unravelment of a disputed or doubtful point of history, the discrepancy of previous writers, and the verification of a date, name, or event. This evidence, given by Mr. Britton, tends considerably to enhance the value of Mr. Brayley's works, giving to them an authority that perhaps otherwise might not be attached to them. The subjects engaging his attention were various, and travel over archæology in general, topography in particular, extending into history, criticism, and the fine arts.

Mr. Brayley was the apprentice of an old and highly-esteemed friend of mine, a most amiable man, the late Henry Bone, R.A., celebrated for the number and beauty of his paintings on enamel. For several years Mr. Brayley superintended the private furnace of Mr. Bone, and conducted, through its varied processes, the celebrated copy of Titian's picture of Bacchus and Ariadne, measuring eighteen inches by sixteen, a stupendous work in that day, and which produced the sum of one thousand five hundred guineas.

Mr. Britton and Mr. Brayley appear to have entered into a sort of literary partnership from a very early period of life, and the account of their proceedings and the titles of their several compositions, as narrated by Mr. Britton, are rather calculated to excite our risibility. These grave archæologists were, in the early period of their career, occupied in writing songs, among others one called the *Powder Tax*; or, *Puff at the Guinea Pig*, of which Evans, the noted song printer of Long-lane, Smithfield, is said to have surreptitiously obtained a copy and disposed of more than seventy thousand impressions; a *History of the White Elephant*; a *series of Twelfth Night Characters*; the *Adventures of Pizarro*, &c., constituted also topics on which Mr. Brayley was engaged. The enumeration of such productions would appear to offer little promise of grave and serious publications in history and antiquities; but the exercise upon trifles led to more important works, and Messrs. Brayley and Britton were engaged as joint editors of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, extending with varied degrees of merit to no less than twenty-five 8vo. volumes. The particulars concerning this undertaking have been given by Mr. Britton, and it is therefore unnecessary for me to enter into any detail regarding them.

The principal work by Mr. Brayley is the *History of Surrey*, in five volumes, composed by him between the years 1814 and 1848. This work, upon which several thousand pounds were expended, will be always referred to with pleasure and information. In 1818, Mr. Brayley published a *History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, in two vols., 4to., with illustrations by Mr. Neale. This work is entitled to the character of careful research and laborious investigation. Another work, of less extent but no less careful execution, the *History of*

the Ancient Palace and House of Parliament at Westminster, appeared in 1836, two years after the lamentable fire which caused its destruction.

I will not, however, attempt to particularize the various merits of Mr. Brayley's writings in a notice of this description. For an enumeration of those which emanated from his pen, I refer the reader to Mr. Britton's account. It is sufficient to say that they constitute a body of intelligence well known to the public, and frequently referred to. A good share of robust health enabled Mr. Brayley to sustain a great amount of literary labour. He was as capable of bodily exertion as of mental application, and Mr. Britton has known him to walk as much as fifty miles in one day and continue the same for three successive days. He would write for fourteen or sixteen hours without respite, courting relief from the application of a wet cloth around his throbbing head.

He filled the office of secretary and librarian to the Russell Institution for twenty-eight years, possessing the friendship and esteem of all connected with that institution. Mr. Brayley joined our Association at its commencement and continued with us up to the time of his decease; but our *Journal* has not been benefited by any distinct article from his pen. His works have, however, been constantly referred to in elucidation of various subjects, and in this way his labours have been rendered subservient to carrying out our intentions and purposes.

WM. SMITH HESLEDEN, esq., of Barton-upon-Humber, joined our Association at the Winchester congress held in 1845, and contributed a paper to the primæval section, giving an account of ancient earth works at Barton-upon-Humber, and conjectures relating to the site of the battle of Brunanburh, which has been printed in our *Winchester volume* (pp. 221-34). This paper exhibits Mr. Hesleden's powers as a close observer to much advantage. He assumes, from a considerable body of evidence, that Barton had been a Roman station, and narrates the finding of Roman remains in the neighbourhood. His paper is accompanied by an excellent plan of the earth-works called the Castles at Barrow-upon-Humber. Mr. Hesleden was warmly interested in our pursuits and, consequently, anxious for our welfare. A short time previous to his decease, which took place on the 24th of December last, in the eighty-first year of his age, he wrote to me expressing his attachment to us, and the continued interest he felt in the study of antiquities, though he was at that time suffering severely from rheumatism which had grievously afflicted him for more than a twelvemonth.

Mr. Hesleden was born on the 19th of January, 1774, educated at Brigg school, and from an early period exhibited great taste for literary research. He has left behind him a large collection of miscellaneous extracts, compositions, &c., of considerable interest. He was the eldest of ten children, the son of Wm. Hesleden, a solicitor, and brought up to the

law, which he followed as a profession until 1840, when he withdrew from it and devoted himself entirely to literature and the study of antiquities. He did much towards elucidating the history of his native place and made many contributions to the *Gentleman's Magazine* and other periodicals. He also furnished to the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society some materials from which the rev. F. Pyndar Lowe, of Saltfleetby, made a paper "on some Charters of the Cistercian Nunnery of Gokewell in Lincolnshire," published by that society.

FRANCIS WATTS, esq., of Warwick-square, Pimlico, was the respected editor of the *London Gazette* for many years. He joined our body in 1847, but was unable to attend our meetings from the pressure of his engagements. He was familiar with subjects of antiquity generally, but more particularly in relation to English history. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, into which he was elected in 1841. He died September 12, 1854, aged fifty-nine years.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS HELM, esq., became a member of our Association upon occasion of our holding a congress at, I believe, his native place, Worcester. On this occasion he was particularly active in aiding the members in their researches and in attending to their comforts during the very pleasant and valuable week spent in that city. He died on the 29th of January, 1854, at the age of fifty-eight years.

THOMAS F. ARMISTEAD, esq., will long be regretted by the Archaeological Association, not on account of the depth of his knowledge of antiquities, but for his general acquaintance with letters; the warm interest he took in all our proceedings; the attendance he gave at our evening meetings as well as at the congresses, and for the kindness of heart and agreeable temper by which he was uniformly distinguished. He was a native of Lancashire, and joined us upon occasion of our visit to Liverpool during the Chester congress. Educated at Hall Place, near Dartford, he imbibed a taste for historical and antiquarian subjects; but at an early period was placed in the Bank of England, where he was well known and highly respected for upwards of thirty-five years, and at the time of his decease was deputy-principal of the Post-Bill Office. He enjoyed apparent good health and was of temperate habits, devoting himself with most affectionate attention to a mother who had early become a widow, and who survived the loss of her son only a few months. Unexpected symptoms of consumption made their appearance toward the close of the year 1853, and Mr. Armistead died on the 5th of March, 1854, at the age of fifty-three years, universally lamented by all who had the happiness to know him, and esteemed for his straightforwardness and integrity.

PATRICK CHALMERS, esq., F.S.A., was a native of Scotland, a "country (according to the late Sir Walter Scott,) where high and low are professed genealogists." He was of Auldbar and Kintrockat, Forfarshire, and died at Rome on the 23rd of June last, at the early age of fifty-one years, having been born on the 31st of October, 1802, in the castle of Auldbar, whither his family had retired from the valley of the northern Dee. He was the representative of an ancient family, the Chalmerses of Balnacraig, who held lands in Aberdeenshire, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and was connected, on the female side, with the De Garvyauchs, a knightly race, whose origin and antiquity have not yet been sufficiently ascertained. He received the earliest part of his education in Germany, whence he was entered at Oxford, which, however, he quitted without taking a degree. He entered the army, served in Ireland in the 3rd Dragoon Guards and rose to the rank of captain; but, upon the death of his father in 1826, sold out and seated himself at Auldbar. In 1835 he represented in Parliament the united burghs of Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar, and Bervie, and was re-elected in 1837, and again in 1841. A severe illness, from a disease of the spinal column, shortly after this time manifested itself, and ultimately proved fatal to him, and he was obliged to withdraw from parliamentary duties in 1842. During the period in which he sat in the legislative councils he actively exerted himself on several committees, particularly that on the penny postage, in which he took a very active part.

Although in early life much addicted to the sports of the field, he was not inattentive to the cultivation of his intellectual powers, and the bent of his mind led him to the study of history and antiquities. Every subject connected with his native country highly interested him, and he was munificent in the furtherance of the investigation of its antiquities. His publication of the *Ancient Sculptured Monuments of the county of Angus, including those at Maigla in Perthshire, and one at Fordoun in the Mearns*, Edinburgh, 1848, (folio), a copy of which he presented to our Association, will remain a monument of his zeal for Scottish archæology, and may be looked upon as an evidence of the triumph of mind over matter, for it was composed chiefly during the time in which he was confined to his room, and mostly to his bed, prostrated by disease, and under acute suffering. A dear and old friend of mine, a relative of Mr. Chalmers's, nursed him most assiduously during this period, and by her I was made acquainted with the truly lamentable condition in which, for many years, his bodily health continued. He, however, to the great surprise of every one, improved so far that, for two years prior to his decease, expectations were not unreasonably entertained that his sphere of general and public usefulness might be renewed and exercised for some time to come. The work I have mentioned was given by him as a donation to the Bannatyne Club, and he contemplated another volume, the *Register of the Cathedral*

Church of Brechin, upon which he was engaged, editing it from the original MS. in the possession of lord Panmure. *The Sculptured Monuments of Angus, &c.*, was published entirely at Mr. Chalmers' cost, and since its appearance in the folio form there has been another, a second edition, with the addition of a number of monuments of the neighbouring counties of the Mearns and Aberdeenshire, to the expense of which Mr. Chalmers contributed along with other gentlemen of Aberdeenshire. The direction of this edition was also very much in Mr. Chalmers' hands. It was published in a 4to. volume, and is consequently much more convenient for reference.

The subjects treated of in this work are of much importance in antiquarian researches. The preface¹ displays the ardour of Mr. Chalmers' mind and manifests the great zeal with which he pursued his object. Until the appearance of Mr. Chalmers' work few examples of the sculptured standing stones, which so peculiarly distinguish Scottish archaeology, had been engraved of a size sufficient to give either accuracy of representation or the necessary details. They constitute the most primitive Christian monuments, and for a long time no other than a Danish origin had been ascribed to them. This, however, has now ceased to be the case; but they offer to us very early examples of the art of sculpture employed to decorate monuments in Scotland. It is not, however, improbable, from the characters sculptured, that some of the monuments figured in Mr. Chalmers' magnificent work may belong to late Pagan times as well as to an early Christian period. Some are upon unhewn stones and of a much ruder character of sculpture than others, consisting only of the representation of mysterious symbols, and unaccompanied by any emblems of the believer in Christianity. Considering the marked singularity of these monuments, it is natural to inquire whether, in any other parts of the world, similar examples are to be found? I believe this may be confidently replied to in the negative—assuredly so as regards Norway, Sweden and Denmark; nor do they appear in Ireland. Dr. Daniel Wilson, late honorary secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, now professor at Toronto, a corresponding member of our Association, whose opinion upon this subject as on all connected with antiquities, particularly of those relating to Scotland, is highly deserving of attention, remarks that “the locality in which these remarkable monuments are found is worthy of notice. No exam-

¹ In the preface occurs a remark which it may be well to bear in mind by lovers of antiquarian research, and perhaps not misplaced by being recorded in an *Archæological Journal*. It relates to the difficulty of persuading an artist that, in antiquarian drawings, extreme accuracy of delineation is far preferable to picturesque effect. It is certainly difficult to restrain the imagination when tempted by dim lights and uncertain lines. In drawing from old and weather-worn stones, such as are the subjects of Mr. Chalmers' volume, it is often necessary to watch the lights; to draw one side of the stone in the morning, the other in the afternoon: and, above all, Mr. Chalmers conceives the sense of touch to be, in some cases more surely relied on than that of sight.

ple occurs within the ancient limits of Dalriada, or on the western coast in the vicinity of Ireland; nor has any one been discovered south of the Forth, though met with both at Largo and St. Andrew's; or north of the ancient southern limits of the Norse kingdom, if we except one now erected in the pleasure grounds of Dunrobin castle.¹ Dr. Wilson considers them as manifestly native monuments, though betraying the same traces of the influence of early Irish art, or, at least, indications of a period when the peculiar style of their ornamentation was common both to Scotland and Ireland, with which we are familiar in the works of the closing Pagan era. Only one known period of Scottish history answers to these requirements, and seems to point out the ruder class of sculptured standing stones as the monuments of the Pagan Picts, and the more elaborate ones, accompanied with the symbol of the christian faith, as belonging to that period when christianity was introduced to the Scottish Picts, at the very time in which we possess numerous proofs of the most intimate intercourse between the two countries.²

Mr. Petrie, another eminent authority, was disposed, from a slight examination of a few characters found inscribed upon some of the specimens, to assign them to a Pictish origin. There are, however, but two having any characters; most of them have the emblem of the cross, but some are, as I have already observed, without this christian distinction. Dr. Wilson says the characters are not decipherable, but that there are remains sufficient to shew they are of the usual character of Scottish and Irish Celtic monumental inscriptions. The work of Mr. Chalmers is also valuable for its important contributions to the representation of ancient domestic articles illustrative of the habits and social arts of the times to which they belong. The representations of animals given are certainly not of a kind to satisfy the naturalist, and it is evident that the artist employed to figure some of these had never enjoyed the advantage of seeing them either in their dead or living condition. Others, on the contrary, are as remarkable for the spirit and accuracy with which they are given.

Among the plates inserted in Mr. Chalmers' work is one representing silver ornaments found, it is reported, in a stone coffin in a tumulus called Norries Law in 1817 or 1819, which are deeply interesting, as exhibiting the ancient personal ornaments and relics of a very remote period, found in a tumulus standing on the marches of two estates of Teasses and Largo in Fifeshire. Upon some of these relics are inscribed figures corresponding to those on the sculptured stones I have mentioned. There, indeed, are to be seen the same mysterious symbols as represented on what is known as the Dunnichen stone. I entreat your examination and comparison of fig. iv on plate 23 with that of figs. i and ii on plate 14; and also fig. iii of plate 6, from a field near the church of Aberlemno. The history of this discovery is not well known, and the circumstances under

¹ Archæology, and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, p. 498.

² *Ib.*, p. 499.

which it was made render it unlikely ever to be satisfactorily stated. It is believed that but a small portion of the valuable hoard has been preserved; twenty-four ounces only having been preserved from the crucible, out of what has been estimated at four hundred ounces of pure bullion. The particulars, as far as ascertained, have been handed down to us by Dr. Wilson, and to his valuable work (pp. 511-520) I must refer those who are anxious to obtain information on the subject. The relics are described as having been in the shape of portions of scale armour, formed of small lozenge-shaped plates of silver suspended loosely from the upper corner by a hook, and consisting also of beautifully-carved shield, helmet, sword handle, &c. The brilliant description leads one only the more deeply to regret the loss of such valuable antiquities. Robert Dundas, esq., of Armiston, through Mr. Albert Way, exhibited a portion, all that has been preserved, now in the possession of general Denham, to the Archæological Institute, and some of the fragments have been figured in their *Journal* (vol. vi, p. 248). They consist of bodkins six-and-a-half inches long, a ring fibula five-and-three-quarter inches in diameter, an ornament furnished with a scroll pattern as seen also in Mr. Chalmers' plate 23. Dr. Wilson conceives them to belong to a period between the third and sixth centuries, the period of transition from Pagan to Christian times.

One circumstance of considerable regret is connected with this discovery. It is asserted, and those best qualified to offer an opinion on the subject give credence to the statement, that with these relics coins were found, not a single specimen of which is now known to be in existence. These might have thrown valuable information relating to the period of the treasure. Our valued associate, Mr. Lindsay, would have been enabled to have thrown some light upon this matter had they come under his supervision.

The other work I mentioned as destined by Mr. Chalmers for the Bannatyne Club, the *Cartulary of Brechin*, will, I am happy to say, be brought out shortly by Mr. John J. Chalmers, his brother's executor; Mr. Cosmo Innes and Mr. Jno. Stuart of the *Register* Office, having taken charge of the publication.

Mr. Chalmers engaged in many laborious researches to elucidate facts from old family charters for the benefit of friends who were prosecuting claims to old titles, or who were anxious to collect curious facts and antiquarian lore connected with their families. He never spared any labour in helping his friends in such pursuits. Besides tracing the descents of the old families of Chalmers of Cutts and of Balnacraig in Aberdeenshire, now extinct or only existing in remote descendants, he traced out the pedigree of the Youngs of Seatoun and latterly of Auldbar, which last possession came into Mr. Chalmers' family in 1753, the family of Young having gone over to Ireland about that time, or soon after. Con-

nected with this last family, which was descended from sir Peter Young of James VI's reign, was that of Ouchterlonie. Mr. Chalmers had a good deal of correspondence with the late Miss Ochterlony of Montrose on the subject of these family papers, which contained some curious matters. She is believed to be descended from prince Rupert. General Ochterlony, of the Russian service, who fell or was wounded at Inkermann (accounts differ) was the last male descendant of that ancient house.

Mr. John Chalmers is in possession of a large correspondence on various subjects of literary and antiquarian interest, which he is carefully keeping, but regarding which, at present, he entertains no precise ultimate design.

Mr. Chalmers's researches, it will be observed, were more especially directed to the elucidation of Scottish antiquities; we obtained from him only two communications, one in 1850, the year after he had joined our Association, consisting of a very curious document, supplying a new fact in the history of the bishopric of Man and the Isles, by which the subjection of that see to the archbishop of Dublin, as its metropolitan, is made apparent. It is a paper on the resignation of the kingdom of Man to the Pope, A.D. 1219. This important communication is printed among the original documents in the sixth volume of our *Journal* (pp. 323-329) and illustrated by remarks to reconcile some of the conflicting dates and statements which accompany the history of this see. His other communication related to a large collection of impressions from mediæval seals, chiefly ecclesiastical, one of which was from a signet ring of Richard III, displaying the arms of that monarch—France and England quartered, under an open crown, and surrounded by a collar of roses: a very interesting addition to our English royal series, and which has been engraved by our Association (See vol. vi, p. 447). I deeply regret that these constitute the only fruits we have received from his active and intelligent mind; but the pages of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*—of which he was a fellow, and of the Spalding Club—furnish further evidence of his labours in the promotion of antiquarian knowledge.

The cartulary of the abbey of Arbroath is an important antiquarian work. One volume only has hitherto appeared, and it was worked up, in the greater part, by Mr. Cosmo Innes, Mr. Chalmers being too ill to perform the work; but the preface was written by him. The second volume, entirely Mr. Chalmers's work, has been finished for several years, but remains still unpublished, it being understood that the Bannatyne Club bears the expense and will choose their own time as to its appearance, they having other matters in hand.

Mr. Chalmers was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in January 1850, and he furnished to the society a paper on the use of Masons' Marks in Scotland, which was read in June 1850, and is printed in the *Archæologia*, (vol. xxxiv, pp. 33-36); also, an account of the seal

of the chapter of the Holy Trinity at Brechin, likewise printed in the *Archæologia*, (vol xxxv, p. 487). He also exhibited a gold fibula, figured in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, (vol. ii, No. 23,) found in Scotland. Mr. Chalmers declined naming the owner, and his own does not appear in the printed account, as it had been accidentally discovered, and fear was entertained that, by such disclosure, it might possibly be claimed as *treasure trove* by the Scottish exchequer. The law, in relation to the discovery of antiquarian objects, has not unfrequently operated to the disadvantage of scientific research, but I believe it is acted upon at the present time in a rather more judicious manner than formerly. The fibula resembles one from Ratcliffe Highway, engraved by us in vol. x, p. 90; but it is more richly ornamented. It also resembles one figured in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. ii, p. 46), which is the representation of a gold fibula, now in the British Museum, a drawing of which was exhibited by me for Mr. Birch at the first archæological congress held at Canterbury in 1844. This remarkable specimen was found at Odiham in Hampshire, and the fillet at the base of the arc was filled up with a minute gold chain, wound around it as if for preventing the separation of the fibula from the garment it was intended to secure. Mr. Chalmers' fibula was considered to differ from any other of the kind, one of the lateral knobs being the head of a screw which served to fasten the acus. Some doubts were entertained as to whether this alteration had not been the work of later times, and that the fibula might have been worn at a long subsequent period. Mr. Roach Smith has figured a fibula of a like shape which he saw at Boulogne, obtained from Estaples. (See *Collect. Antiq.* i, pl. 3.) Richot has represented one found at the Châtelet in France; and count Caylus (*Recueil d'Antiq.* i, pl. 94, fig. 8,) has figured a bronze one, in shape precisely resembling the gold one found in Hampshire, and the bronze specimen from Ratcliffe Highway. The hollow part of Mr. Chalmers' fibula, when first discovered, was filled with some sulphurous matter, which was burnt out by the person into whose hands it first came.

In June 1850, Mr. Chalmers also exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries two Burmese bowls and covers of silver; a torweaz, the horoscope of a native lady, a Mahomedan, calculated at Hyderabad in the Deccan; a Burmese tickel, the circulating medium of Ava; and an octagon box of gold found in the treasury of Tippoo Sultan at the taking of Seringapatam in 1799. This was bequeathed to sir Charles Hopkinson by general Bell of the Madras artillery. In the month of November, Mr. Chalmers also exhibited some rough sketches of a remarkable circle of stones in Aberdeenshire, and of what was termed an ancient altar stone in the same locality; and in April, 1853, he laid before the Society a slight sketch of a small cross and chain found in a grave at Kingoldrum, Forfarshire. The chain was eight inches in length and was of bronze, and the cross

was of the same material, but little more than two inches in diameter. They were found along with a skeleton, crouched up in a sitting posture between three slabs of stone, a fourth having probably been removed. A small glass vessel and a few other objects were obtained, but full particulars of the discovery have not been recorded.

In his own country, Mr. Chalmers's memory will long be deservedly cherished for many acts of special munificence, and measures of improvement. No public enterprise or benevolent undertaking was proceeded with unaccompanied by Mr. Chalmers's support. He laboured effectively for the public good; and it has justly been said "that he has left cottages on his lands and a school at his gate, which, if every other memorial of his work were to fail, would long keep his name in just and grateful remembrance." (*Gentleman's Magazine*, Sep. 1854, p. 306.) Mr. John Chalmers acquaints me that not the least useful of his brother's labours were the pamphlets on the improvement of statute labour roads and other county matters, and the time and money he spent in devising plans for the improvement of the dwellings and gardens of the labourers on his estate. He also took a great interest in the rev. Henry Stuart's (of Oathlaw) labours in the same cause, but which comprised the whole of Scotland.

Mr. Chalmers did much towards the restoration of the ruined church of Auldbar, in which he desired his remains should be deposited; and he accumulated a fine library for his successors. In the spring of 1854, he quitted Scotland to proceed on a continental tour with some relatives and friends, but upon his arrival in Italy he was attacked with the small-pox, from which he recovered. The effect upon his frame, however, was such as to excite a renewal of his old complaint, and to this he fell a victim at Rome on the 23rd of June. Mr. J. H. Galton of Hadzor in Worcestershire, one of our best modern travellers, the companion of Mr. Chalmers, brought home his remains, agreeably to his expressed desire, and fulfilled his friend's dying wishes by depositing them beside the ancient church of Auldbar, of which he had just completed the rebuilding.

THE REV. JOHN WILLIAM WHITTAKER, D.D., vicar of St. Mary's, Blackburn, honorary canon of Manchester, rural dean of Blackburn, and a surrogate, was one of those associates who can ill be spared for the learning by which he was distinguished and the zeal exercised by him in the promulgation of it to the advancement of antiquarian knowledge. He was a native of Manchester, and joined us upon occasion of our holding a congress in that town in 1850, under the presidency of James Heywood, esq. M.P. Dr. Whittaker's university career was marked by distinction, he taking his degree of B.A. in 1814, as thirteenth wrangler; proceeding to M.A. in 1817; B.D. in 1824; and D.D. in 1830. His historical and critical inquiry into the interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures, with

remarks on Mr. Bellamy's new translation, and subsequent supplement with appendices, &c., procured for him the special notice of Manners Sutton, then archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was appointed an examining chaplain, in compliment to the soundness of his learning and his extensive acquaintance with sacred writ. The archbishop also promoted him to the vicarage of Blackburn in 1822, upon the decease of another distinguished archæologist of the same name, but not of the same family—the rev. Thomas Dunham Whitaker, LL.D., F.S.A., the historian of the deanery of Craven and also of the original parish of Whalley, and honour of Clitheroe. It is not a little curious that there should exist another Whittaker, the rector of Ruan Langhorne, also a native of Manchester, and a historian, but in no way allied to the two already mentioned of the same name.

Our late associate will long be remembered for the great services he rendered his parish and neighbourhood, and the great zeal he exercised in the erection of churches and the establishment of schools in the field of his ministration, which was one of no little extent, as may be gleaned from the fact that Dr. Whittaker, in right of his vicarage, was the patron of no less than twenty-three livings. He was warmly engaged in theological controversy, which, however, as foreign to our immediate pursuits, I forbear to remark upon; but it is no little recommendation of Dr. Whittaker, under the circumstances, to say that the highest respect was universally entertained for him as a man and a scholar. His education peculiarly fitted him for the labours of a controversialist, and his knowledge of dialects rendered him essential service. We had an opportunity of benefiting by this at our congress, when, although in a bad state of health, he most kindly read to us a very learned paper, which has been printed in our *Journal*, (vol. vi, pp. 255-271), "on local nomenclature, chiefly Celtic, and relating to Great Britain." In this communication he specially treated of the etymology of the names of districts, mountains, and cities, which happened to have attracted, fortuitously or in the course of casual investigation, his attention. Dr. Whittaker brought his powerful mind to bear on the glaring violence which had been at various times forced on his observation both as to etymology and orthography by ignorance and carelessness in the lapse of time, and the wanton recklessness by which genuine nomenclature had been obliterated or depraved into a senseless jargon. In his attempts to trace and expose these corruptions he incidentally brought to light many interesting Celtic denominations which, but for such a scrutiny, would soon have disappeared in the oblivion into which they had for a long series of years been hastening. Abandoning the process of analysis as useless in such inquiries, Dr. Whittaker adopted the ingenious line of inquiry offered by diligent research among the peasantry, labourers, shepherds, or aged village sages, whose memories could call up some other name in use in former times

but now beginning to be discontinued, and by which he was enabled to trace many names of recent English date, or clearly belonging to our Saxon forefathers, from which no clue to their primary Celtic denomination by any other process could be discovered. In this research he observed that Robert Southey had recovered the old Celtic name of Saddleback, a picturesque mountain in immediate juxtaposition with Skiddaw, and he thought it much to be wished that the original name, so rescued by his diligence, might replace in ordinary use the discordant appellation given by the Saxons, under the conceited notion that the outline of this hill had some resemblance to that of a saddle.

The following observation, by Dr. Whittaker, is entitled to our consideration: "When we meet with a name that has no obvious meaning whatever, or sounds like mere gibberish, we may be almost certain that a genuine ancient name (in Great Britain a Celtic or Cymric name) lies hid under it. In order to discover it, the first requisite is to ascertain its proper pronunciation, which is always to be learned from the labouring people, especially old shepherds. These simple people generally preserve with fidelity the old broad expression of the vowel sounds of the ancient accents. Never place any reliance on persons in a higher rank, on sentimental tourists, guide-books, or the orthography of local histories, the great aiders of innovation in all these respects. The main object of the writer then, originally, was to recover and restore ancient nomenclature, rather than to investigate etymological roots. For this latter department of inquiry he has little inclination, and gladly leaves it to others, conceiving the profitable knowledge to be so acquired very disproportionate to the trouble encountered." (p. 256.)

But Dr. Whittaker proceeded to trace the numerous causes of corruption in the names of places, and has given us some valuable illustrations on the subject. I strongly recommend the careful perusal of this paper to our associates, and I hope some one among us may be tempted to pursue the inquiry, following in the steps marked out by the learned doctor. It was his intention (as on more than one occasion he communicated to me) to have followed up this paper by others in relation to so fertile a source of inquiry, but the state of his health prevented the accomplishment of so desirable an object, and it is now left to the application of others.

Dr. Whittaker printed various works, consisting of letters addressed to Dr. Wiseman on the points of difference between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and to William Eccles, esq., of Blackburn, on the voluntary system; many sermons, some of which had been preached before the University of Cambridge, and one delivered to the chartists at a period of great disaffection, which was issued in a very cheap form, and had the effect of improving many of the misled operatives. His personal habits and deportment are accurately described in the following passage. "Dr.

Whittaker was of a studious and retiring disposition, living chiefly in seclusion, excepting when the calls of duty, to which he was scrupulously attentive, rendered it requisite for him to step forth into public life. On all such occasions he manifested his extraordinary aptitude for business. With a vigorous and active mind, capable of at once grasping all the difficulties of a question—with a keen insight into human nature, and an almost instinctive perception of the motives by which those with whom he had to deal were actuated—few individuals were able to manage the ordinary transactions of life with greater shrewdness, wisdom, or penetration. His habits of order were of a most exemplary character.”¹

Dr. Whittaker suffered from a very protracted illness, to which his frame succumbed on the 3rd of August last, at the age of sixty-three years. In his family and by many friends he was most ardently loved and admired. His interment had rather the character of a public funeral, his remains being accompanied to the grave by the mayor and corporation, the clergy, magistrates, and all classes of his parishioners. Our most respected associate, the learned and excellent bishop of Manchester, impressively performed the service, to mark the high respect he entertained for the learning, the piety, and the great public usefulness of his friend.

THOMAS SAUNDERS, esq., F.S.A., is a name familiar to, and much honoured by, antiquaries who experience delight in viewing the efforts of those who have successfully exerted themselves to preserve and to restore our ancient edifices. Among these laudable works there is not an instance of more deserved respect than that of the Ladye Chapel attached to St. Saviour's, Southwark, which mainly owes its present condition to the munificence and zeal of our late member.

With Mr. Saunders I had the happiness to enjoy an acquaintance for many years, and had the gratification, in 1829, of signing his certificate for admission into the Society of Antiquaries. Born and bred in the city of London, he was there educated, and turned his attention to city business and city antiquities. He was brought up to the law, and he served as a member of the Court of Common Council of the city of London, for several years, being one of the representatives for Bridge Ward. In 1841 he was elected comptroller of the Chamber of the city of London, an office of great trust and responsibility, which he filled to the great satisfaction of his fellow-citizens, being active in the performance of the duties of his office, and ever ready to promote any reasonable measure of reform. His antiquarian labours rest chiefly upon his devotion to the preservation and restoration of the Lady Chapel I have mentioned; and to effect this object of his most ardent desire he exerted himself at a time (more than twenty years since) when the zeal for restoration did not prevail in such force as at the present day. Indeed, it is now surprising to think of the

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, October 1854, p. 397.

great and almost insuperable difficulties which were opposed to him, and melancholy to know that, in attaining his object, he incurred a pecuniary loss of upwards of £700.

It is, to me, a source of no inconsiderable satisfaction to reflect that I had the opportunity afforded me, upon occasion of our visit to view Gerard's Hall Crypt, and other city antiquities in 1851, to pay him, publicly, a tribute of respect for, and acknowledgment of, his great services in preserving this most interesting architectural monument of our forefathers. Upon this occasion Mr. Saunders joined our Association, and since that time to the period of his decease attended our congresses, and warmly entered into our pursuits, affording us facilities on occasion of a subsequent visit to the city to inspect some of its antiquities. We have much reason to deplore his loss, inasmuch as it has deprived us of a warm friend in the person of a most amiable man, and an active and zealous assistant in our city archæological researches.

In referring to Mr. Saunders' labours in relation to the Lady Chapel at St. Saviour's, Southwark, it would be unjust not to mention others of our members who successfully co-operated with him in this work, some of whom are, happily, still with us, and, I trust, may be long spared to us, as ornaments of our Association. I need only to name Mr. George Gwilt, F.S.A., and Mr. G. R. Corner, F.S.A., to demand your approbation. Mr. Carlos and Mr. Kempe, of whose researches and contributions to our Association notices will be found in various volumes of the *Journal*, have departed, but still live in our memories with great regard and respect.

In the promotion of archæological knowledge Mr. Saunders' liberality was extended to the late Mr. Herbert, librarian of the city of London, at Guildhall, to commemorate the history and sepulchral memorials of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, upon its necessary removal to form the present King William Street. This publication was put forth in 1831, I believe solely at the expense of Mr. Saunders.

Mr. Saunders died on the 25th of January 1854, at the age of sixty-seven years, leaving a widow to lament a most kind husband, and six children the loss of an affectionate parent.

I regret to close my obituary for 1854 with a tribute to one who filled the highest office in our Association, our late president, RALPH BERNAL, esq., M.A., a name well known in parliamentary history, and in the acquisition and knowledge of mediæval antiquities. It may be truly said that so extensive and valuable a collection had never before been brought together by any one individual; and the prices that have been realized upon its dispersion have been such as at least satisfactorily to prove that where the public can be assured, from the intelligence of the proprietor, of the genuine character of the antiquities, there is neither lack of zeal nor

scantiness of means exercised to obtain the acquisition of them. Our excellent honorary secretary, Mr. Planché, has justly observed in the short prefatory note attached to the *Bernal Catalogue*, that, "distinguished amongst English antiquaries, by the perfection of his taste, as well as the extent of his knowledge, the difficulty of imposing upon him was increased by the necessity of the fabrication being fine enough in form, colour or workmanship to rival the masterpiece it simulated: to be, in fact, itself a gem of art, which it would not pay to produce as a relic of antiquity. Mr. Bernal could be tempted by nothing that was inferior." The sale of the collection is still unfinished; it is intended to occupy the extended period of thirty-two days, embracing 4,294 lots; but twenty-one days have already produced the extraordinary amount of £48,325.¹

The judgment exercised by the British Archæological Association in selecting Mr. Bernal and soliciting him to become the president of their body, is evinced by the collection he had amassed; and we have deeply to regret that by his unexpected death from an attack of fever, after his very short connexion with us, dating only from the Rochester congress of 1853, we had not yet derived the advantage of figuring any of his specimens in our *Journal*, or enriching our pages with his experienced observations. The only communication from his pen consists of an introductory discourse delivered at the opening of the Rochester congress, printed in the ninth volume of our *Journal* (pp. 201-214). This paper is of too recent a date to need any remarks from me; it is sufficient to observe that it gives to the Association a good general view of the antiquities that were to be examined by the congress, and points out those subjects which were most worthy of attention in a historical and antiquarian point of view. During the presidency of Mr. Bernal, he was attentive to us in the discharge of his duties, and frequently attended the meetings of council, where his opinion was found to be of much value. He also presided over a meeting held in July 1853, to examine some of the antiquities of the city of London. His illness prevented his attendance at the last congress held at Chepstow. His decease took place on the 26th of August, the last day of the congress, to the great grief of his very numerous friends. The council have duly expressed to Mrs. Bernal (whose kind attention to all during the Rochester congress must be fresh in the recollection of our associates) the high opinion they entertained of Mr. Bernal's character and services, and have most sincerely condoled with her upon her bereavement. It must be particularly satisfactory to the members to know that this expression of sympathy has been affectionately received by his widow, who, to mark her sense of the attachment Mr. Bernal entertained towards the Association, has desired her name to be enrolled in the list of the members of the Society. The letter conveying this desire has been printed in our *Journal* (vol. x, p. 374).

¹ Since the above was written, the sale has been concluded, and the total product amounts to £62,690 : 6 : 5.

Mr. Bernal was bred to the law and called to the bar by the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn. Educated at Cambridge University, he took the degrees of B.A. and M.A. in 1806 and 1809. He entered parliament, for the first time, as member for Lincoln, in 1818, and in 1820 he was returned for Rochester, which he represented in nine successive parliaments. He subsequently represented the boroughs of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, but retired from parliament at the dissolution in 1852. During his parliamentary career he filled the laborious office of chairman of committees of the whole house, to the entire satisfaction of the members, from about the year 1830, being esteemed by men of different parties and admired for his impartiality and urbanity.

Mr. Bernal's taste led him to the formation of a valuable library, consisting principally of works of art, but yet furnished with many in the higher branches of letters, in which Mr. Bernal was in many respects very conversant. The library was sold by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson in February last, and the six days' sale realized the sum of £5,273 : 9 : 6; whilst his prints and engravings brought £1,313 : 13 : 0.

The catalogue of the Bernal collection presents a remarkable instance of what a single individual, uniting knowledge and zeal on any given subject, or object of pursuit, can accomplish. It forms, as printed, a volume composed of so large an assemblage of most valuable antiquities that to attempt to particularize them would be quite out of place, and beyond my power. It is sufficient to say that it is rich in all its departments; that the china and glass are unrivalled; that the choicest specimens of mediæval art, whether in metal or other work, are to be found embraced within it; that such a vast assemblage of historical portraits is not to be met with in the possession of any other individual; that the enamels, the bijouterie, the ancient spoons, watches, clocks, compasses, carvings, armour, arms and decorative furniture are all of the very first character; and it is gratifying to know that such an opportunity for obtaining some invaluable gems has not been allowed to escape, but that they have been added to the already accumulated treasures of the British Museum and the Gallery of Design. The public have therefore the satisfaction of seeing that Mr. Bernal had not laboured in vain for the promotion of a knowledge of art.

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ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT,

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P. AND TREASURER.

[*Read at the Congress at Newport.*]

THE island in which we are now assembled, presents to our notice various points of interesting inquiry, antiquarian and historical, which have not hitherto met with the consideration they decidedly merit. Much, in regard to its early history, is far from being satisfactorily defined or understood; and a minute examination of all ancient documents relating to it, still preserved, would doubtless throw much light upon several points which at present appear to be involved in obscurity. Suetonius is the first Roman author who makes mention of the Isle of Wight, and from his pages we learn that it was originally inhabited by the Belgæ. Its conquest by the Romans (A.D. 43) he attributes to Vespasian,¹ who was, however, at this period only one, though the most distinguished, of the generals of the emperor Claudius. The subjugation of the island must, therefore, be properly attributed to his authority; and the place thus conquered, was named VECTA, or VECTIS.² It was

¹ For the war of Vespasian with the Belgæ, the ancient inhabitants of Hampshire and Wiltshire, the reader is referred to the rev. Beale Poste's account in the *Transactions of the British Archaeological Association at the Congress held at Winchester in 1845*, p. 131. See also *Britannic Researches*, by the same; 8vo., 1854.

² Ab eodem Claudio, Vespasianus, qui post Neronem imperavit, in Britanniam missus, etiam Vectam insulam Britanniae proximam a meridie Romanorum ditioni subjugavit.—Bedæ, *Eccles. Hist. Gent. Anglor.*, lib. i, cap. 3, p. 151.

subsequently invaded and taken by Cerdic the Saxon chief, and founder of the kingdom of Wessex, who, according to the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* (A.D. 530), slaughtered the natives at Whit-garas-byrg, With-garesbi, or Gwith-gara-burg, *i.e.* Carisbrooke (a combination of Wight and Caraburgh), and peopled the island with the Jutes. The *Chronicle* just mentioned says, that from the Jutes came the Kentish men and the Wightwarians, *i.e.* the tribe which now dwells in Wight, and that race among the West Saxons which is still called the race of Jutes.

Cynric, son of Cerdic, succeeded, upon the death of his father, A.D. 533, to the kingdom, and reigned twenty-six years. They had given to the nephews of Cerdic, Stuf and Wihtgar, the Isle of Wight: the latter died A.D. 544, and was buried at Carisbrook.¹ In A.D. 661, Wulfhere, the second son of Penda, who had succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians in 657, laid waste Wight, and gave the people to Ethelwald, king of the South Saxons, because Wulfhere had been his sponsor at baptism.² Cadwallon, or as Bede calls him, Ceadwalla or Cadwalla, a descendant of Cerdic, was king in 686, in which year he cruelly slaughtered the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, and gave one quarter to Wilfrid, bishop of Wessex.³ The Danes were in possession of the island in 787; but it is uncertain

¹ Regno toto præter insulam Vechtā ad filium devoluto. Ea enim indultu regiæ munificentia potestati *Withgari* nepotis sui accessit. Is cum sanguinis propinquitate tum bellandi artibus avunculo juxta charus (ejus enim ex sorore nepos erat) celebrem in eadem insula primo principatum, post etiam sepulturam accepit.—Will. Malm., *De Gest. Reg.*, lib. i, cap. 2, p. 12.

² Primis fere annis à rege West-Saxonum graviter afflictus, sequentibus consilii vivacitate injuriam propulsans, etiam ipsum Wecthæ insulæ dominio mutilavit: eandemque, ritus sacrilegos adhuc anhelantem, ad rectum tramitem inflectens, non multo post regi Australium Saxonum *Ethelvaltkio*, quem in baptismo susceperat gratia fidei dedit.—Will. Malmesb., *De Gestis Regum Anglor.*, lib. i, c. iv, p. 27.

³ *Ceadwalla* rex debellavit Insulam Vectam adhuc idololatrā, et secundum votum quartam partem dedit *Wilfrido* episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua superveniens aderat.—Henr. Huntingdon., *Hist.*, lib. iii, p. 334.

"He also set upon the Ile of Wight, & well neere destroyed all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. Hee bounde himself also by vow, although as yet he was not baptized, that if he might conquer it, he would give a fourth part thereof unto the Lord; and in performance of that vow he offered unto bishop Wilfrid (who then chanced to be present), when he had taken that ile, so much thereof as contained 300 households or families, where the whole consisted in 1200 households.....Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Christ last of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the same faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons."—Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 5th booke.

how long they remained its masters, as we find them, in the reign of Alfred, again landing and plundering the inhabitants. This is reported to have occurred in 1001, in the time of Ethelred the Unready: they retained it for some time, carrying on their piratical practices with great advantages. Earl Godwin twice plundered it in the reign of the Confessor, and earl Tosti in the time of Harold.

Upon the accession of the Conqueror, the island was granted to William Fitz Osborne, afterwards earl of Hereford; and, according to a chartulary of Carisbrooke priory, which was in the possession of sir Richard Worsley, was "to be held by him as freely as he himself held the realm of England". The island was erected into a kingdom by Henry VI, who bestowed it on Henry de Beauchamp, duke of Warwick, whom Henry himself crowned as its sovereign. He, however, died without issue, and it passed again to the crown. These are points of inquiry for the historian, all of which are deserving of attention. Appertaining to this branch of the subject, that of the history of the lords of the Isle of Wight is of much importance, and we must all be gratified to find Mr. Planché engaged upon it for the present Congress.

The natural history of the island is peculiarly attractive and interesting. This must have been generally admitted, as it has long been known as "the garden of England". With this department, however, the British Archæological Association has nothing to do. We confine ourselves to more recondite researches; and in looking over the subjects for antiquarian consideration presented to our view, we shall find abundant matter to occupy our attention. Bewitching as are the beauties of the island, romantic as is the picturesque scenery, fascinating as are its natural productions and peculiarities, we come to view this spot with other eyes; to search into its ancient history, and to trace out its antiquities. Among those who have laboured in this vineyard, and with the eye of an acute observer and an experienced antiquary, must be mentioned the late sir Henry C. Englefield, bart., from whose *Description of the principal Picturesque Beauties, Antiquities, and Geological Phenomena of the Isle of Wight* (published in 1814), we derive much information on several of the objects of our

research. Much has, however, been left to be done by the antiquary, and the pages of our own *Journal* exhibit this in a very striking point of view ; for without directing any especial attention to this part of the country, our associates and correspondents will be found to have furnished us with various contributions highly deserving of being brought together and now made available under a general survey of the island.

With the present size, position, and principal divisions of the island I have nothing whatever to do. It is to the immediate history of the earliest time I am desirous of directing your attention, on some points of which a diversity of opinion appears to prevail. Sir Henry Englefield says, "Of the Romans there is not a vestige in the island ;" but since his time barrows have been examined, Roman funeral practices are found to have been adopted, Roman coins have been discovered, and other antiquities have been brought to light which would appear to disprove the accuracy of his assertion.

The most remarkable antiquities of the island are the tumuli or barrows. And what are barrows or tumuli ? They are the known tombs of Britons, Romans, Saxons, and Danes. They are the funeral depositories of the most ancient chieftains, potentates, warriors, and others. The tumulus is more ancient than the Pyramids.

The most casual reader of the histories of various nations, both ancient and modern, cannot fail to be struck with the reverence that has been in all times paid to the remains of the dead, and the ceremonies that have been practised in their disposal. Of the history of the primæval ages we possess no documentary evidence ; our acquaintance with the period must consequently depend upon our knowledge of their antiquities, and this we derive from examination of the tombs. Of all monuments denoting the past, the tombs constitute the most ancient memorials. Savage tribes, equally with civilized nations, have, in these erections, and by the care with which they have been preserved, evinced the deep affection they entertained for their kindred. It is the evidence of a principle implanted by nature. The similarity of practices adopted by different nations in regard to their dead, must not, however, be considered as evidence of their having been derived from

each other. The apparent uniformity of them is rather to be looked for in the primitive conceptions entertained naturally by early nations, and may be considered as inherent in, or inseparable from, the consideration of the subject. Mounds to cover superficial burials may be esteemed as the most ancient. They are universal: they are found in almost all parts of the world.

Of the universal appearance of tumuli, a late learned traveller (Dr. Clarke, *Travels*, i, 211, 4to. ed. 1811) remarks: "If there exist any thing of former times which may afford monuments of antediluvian manners, it is this mode of burial. They seem to mark the progress of population in the first ages after the dispersion, rising wherever the posterity of Noah came. They present the simplest and sublimest monument any generation could raise on the bodies of their progenitors; calculated for almost endless duration, and speaking a language more impressive than the most studied epitaph upon Parian marble. When beheld in a distant evening horizon, skirted by the rays of the setting sun, and, as it were, touching the clouds which hover over them, imagination pictures the spirits of heroes of remote periods descending to irradiate a warrior's grave. I know no appearance more interesting than those tumuli." In a paper by the rev. J. B. Deane, read at the first Archæological Congress held in this country in 1844, "On the Early Sepulchral Remains extant in Great Britain," it was well observed that in the barrows we have, in the absence of all written evidence, the history of the nation, in the simple but touching annals of a people whose piety was displayed, and ambition satisfied, in building dwellings for their gods, and tombs for their fathers; who consecrated to those two great objects of their affections, their time, their labour, and their wealth; so that, while we look in vain for cities, and palaces, or even houses, we can scarcely cross a down undisturbed by the plough, which does not present us with the fragments of a sacred circle, surrounded by a group of sepulchral barrows.

The simplicity of the original mound, consisting of little more than a heap of stones or a pile of earth, has served to perpetuate its continuance beyond that which belongs to much later periods, as seen in the pyramid, the arch, or the obelisk. Whilst the latter have, by the teeth of time

and the violence of man, gone to decay and sunk into oblivion, the former still remain, and convey to us the evidence of the feelings by which the builders were impressed, and exhibit to us illustrations of the reverence they paid to the deceased. The elements, whose fury has thrown down and demolished the splendid erections of temples and grand *mausolea*, have spared the more humble and simple formations of mounds, and permitted them even to retain their pristine shape and character. Thus they are found in almost every part of the globe; but they abound in some portions of the world more than in others. They are the most permanent of all memorials; nothing in the course of nature but a deluge or an earthquake ("the great winding-sheets that bring all things to oblivion," as Lord Bacon expresses it) can destroy them. Whilst undisturbed they have served not only carefully to guard the justly esteemed sacred deposits of human remains, but also the various objects of natural production or ancient art which have accompanied them; and they now, upon examination, are found to give us the only authentic information we can obtain relating to the habits, the customs, and the arts of their original builders. Varying in form, it is not improbable that they may have also in some degree been regulated according to the special purposes to which they were to be applied. Of their appropriation to sepulture we have abundant evidence. Sometimes they are found to contain only one body, at other times two, and in some cases an immense number.

The ancient poets and historians all speak of the mounds or tumuli. Homer and Herodotus abound in allusions to, and descriptions of them. The Greeks raised sepulchral tumuli, and they also burnt their dead. Homer describes the funeral ceremonies performed upon the death of their heroes. The siege of Troy furnishes us with the first mention of a barrow.

The most ancient barrows in England are to be regarded as British; and although there exists much difficulty in pointing out distinctly their essential differences from others perhaps of a period more remote, there yet appears good ground for appropriating to this people those mounds in which a stone chamber, formed in a rough and rude manner, and varying also in different instances as to di-

mensions, is contained within. The earth of many of these having in the course of time been removed, the stones have been brought into view, and are what are now known as cromlechs. They are neither numerous nor extensive in England, yet are scattered over various parts of the British Islands, as well as in other countries.

An attentive examination of the contents of the barrows serves to denote the people by whom they were erected. A comparison of them in different localities will confirm our opinions in regard to the people by whom they were formed; their similarity in certain districts may be traced to the communications that have existed between different countries, and enable us to determine on the course of civilization and the progress of tribes, either for the purposes of commerce or of conquest. The barrows of western Europe offer abundant evidence of their relation to those of the Scandinavians, the Cimmerians, and the Scythians. In this way does history receive illustration and confirmation.

The Isle of Wight offers, I believe, no instance whatever of stone heap, nor of what are termed cromlechs, and I therefore forbear entering upon the consideration of these, to me, most interesting subjects of antiquarian research.

The want of scientific arrangement in respect to the primæval antiquities of Great Britain has been felt by every student in archæology. Different systems have been arrived at, but nothing of the kind hitherto propounded has proved satisfactory, or met with general adoption. The different people to whom they apply, namely, the Celts, the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes, and I may also add the Normans, would appear at first sight to offer an easy method of arrangement; but the intermixture of these, and the extreme difficulty often attendant upon assigning the antiquities to their respective people, occasion difficulties of no insignificant character. The division into periods particularizing antiquities as belonging to a STONE AGE or period, a BRONZE AGE, and an IRON AGE, present also difficulties of a like kind. Much assistance has, however, been afforded to us by an examination of the antiquities of other countries where less intermixture of people has existed, and in this respect we are aided

in no inconsiderable degree by referring to Denmark, a country never conquered by the Romans and whose remains are therefore unmixed. In this labour we are under obligation principally to C. J. Thomsen, the founder of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, and J. J. A. Worsaae, one of the royal commissioners for the preservation of the national monuments of Denmark, both members of our Association. Under the countenance and immediate personal application of an enlightened monarch who takes a deep interest in the progress of archaeological inquiry, these gentlemen have had the advantage of pursuing their studies. The former has established an arrangement of, and order in, the classification of northern antiquities, which may well put to the blush countries of greater means and magnitude, and we are thus in no little degree enabled to read the history of their country through the medium of the monuments preserved in the museum. Not only, however, has a comparison been made of the immediate antiquities of Denmark with those of Scandinavia, but also with those of Germany, Switzerland, France, etc., and this examination of European antiquities cannot be made without producing important results. To no other nation than Great Britain can the comparison of its antiquities with those of Denmark be so important, as the connexion which existed in former times between the two countries was of the most intimate nature. Into this subject, however, I must not on the present occasion enter, but simply remark that by such consideration M. Worsaae was led to adopt the division of periods as applicable to Denmark and Great Britain.

The arrangement proposed by the Danish antiquary is under the three following heads: 1. *The stone period*; 2. *The bronze period*; 3. *The iron period*. Although these periods of division may be admitted as those in which the several materials by which they are distinguished most generally prevailed, it will be seen that difficulties in regard to them must necessarily arise from the instances occurring during their several periods of transition from one to the other. I am therefore disposed to think a division agreeably to the races existing a more desirable arrangement, and it seems better to speak of a CELTIC, ROMAN, or SAXON period, than that of a STONE, BRONZE, or

IRON one. I will not now enlarge upon the distinctive peculiarities of these periods, but reserve their consideration for a future time. I have, I trust, already said sufficient to show that the study of barrows is deeply interesting. To a certain degree they give to us positive knowledge, inasmuch as we may be assured of the connexion which exists between the skeleton interred and the arms, ornaments or domestic utensils buried along with the individual. They lead us to a knowledge of some of the ceremonies that had been performed at the time of interment. But we must not hastily attempt to draw conclusions from single instances; on the contrary, it is only by experience obtained in the examination of many that we become warranted in speaking with decision on such a subject. Uniformity in the mode and character of the interments in particular districts gives to us important information on this head, and illustrates the history of the locality. The barrows are not only dissimilar in different parts of the world, or of this country, but also in the locality itself; for it must be recollected that barrows are of different periods, and that the practice of such interments was carried over a very large period of time. Of the barrows of the Isle of Wight, some have been submitted to examination, though the results have been hitherto but briefly stated. The volumes published by our Association are those which have chiefly given publicity to the nature of the tumuli that have been opened, and a very interesting summary drawn up from the notes of the late Mr. John Dennett, keeper of Carisbrooke Castle, has been printed in the Winchester Congress volume. Some of the antiquities discovered and referred to in these researches are in the museum at Newport, and are kindly submitted to our inspection on this occasion. They have been principally derived from the western range of hills in the island, which are found to extend from Carisbrooke to Freshwater Gate, comprising a distance of not less than twelve miles, and their contents may be recognized as chiefly belonging to the Roman and Saxon periods. We shall in the course of our excursions during the Congress travel over some of these places, and have, therefore, opportunities of observing their nature and extent.

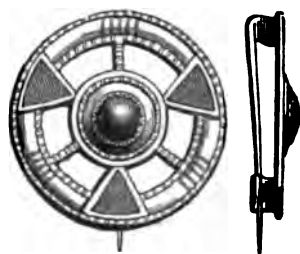
I must now call your attention to Mr. Dennett's re-

searches as given in our publications :¹ At Brooke Down



a large cinerary urn of brown earth, unbaked, was found at the summit of a barrow, and was evidently a secondary interment; the place of another four feet lower being found in the chalk. The urn contained burnt bones, ashes, and charcoal, and similar substances were met with in other urns near Freshwater. The urn measured one foot two inches in diameter. At Shalcombe Down, bronze fibulæ, and bone and ivory ornaments have been

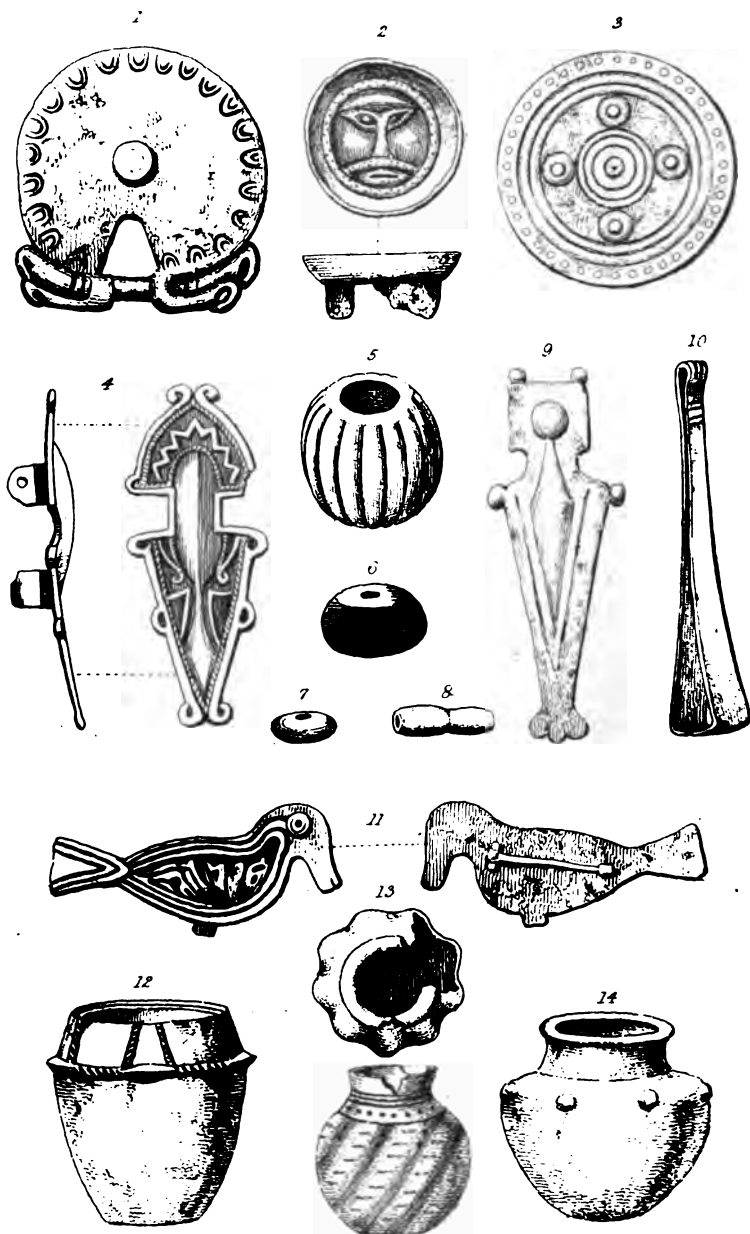
found. In one barrow at this place there were an iron sword, tweezers, and fibulæ. The remains are of the Saxon period; the fibulæ are of a circular shape, of silver, which had been richly gilt, and they were in fine preservation. The tongue was conjectured to be of iron, and had suffered decay. Four portions of coloured paste glass, one of which was missing, had been placed around at equidistances, and the centre was occupied by a carbuncle of the size of a pea, and it retained a fine and even brilliant polish.



At Chessell Downs, skeletons and swords have been found, decidedly Saxon as to their period. The discovery of a perfect skeleton is recorded, over the right shoulder of which was a glass vessel (see cut, next page), exceedingly thin, and the edge turned over. It had a beautiful appearance, from the iridescence occasioned by its burial in the earth for a long period. At a previous examination a portion of another glass vessel, ribbed and fluted (fig. 2),

¹ *Transactions at the Winchester Congress*, 1845, pp. 148-160, with plates and woodcuts. As this volume is now out of print, and not easily obtained, it has been thought proper to reproduce some of them in this article, as necessary to a perfect understanding of the character of the antiquities.

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Engraved by F.W. Fairholt, F.S.A.

ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED IN BARROWS
IN THE ISLE OF WIGHT

discovered at this place, together with a bronze fibula and a spiral ring (fig 3), of white metal, slightly silvered ; and this ornament was found on the bone of a finger. About thirty graves were opened at this spot, placed at such uniform distances that no doubt can be entertained but that it had been a cemetery, and the results of the examination of the several interments offered a variety of antiquities :—



Fig. 1.

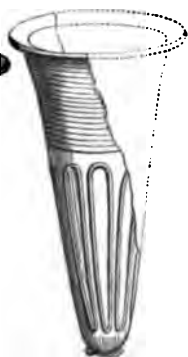


Fig. 2.

1. Iron swords, thirty inches long, two inches wide, termination of handles wanting ; corroded. 2. Spear heads, with sockets. 3. Knives, usually about five or six inches long, deposited by the left hip of the skeletons. 4. Iron and brass rings. 5. Buckles, in brass of various kinds, evidently used for fastening the sword belt, as they were usually found immediately above the right hip bone. 6. Fibulæ, circular, in the shape of birds, and bow-shaped. (See plate 12.) 7. Beads, in blue ribbed glass, coloured clays, dark glass spotted with blue and red amber. 8. Tweezers. 9. Ornaments of various kinds in bronze and bone. 10. Urns. (See plate 12.) The order in which those several articles were found deposited in the graves is recorded by Mr. Dennett,¹ and they are to be seen in the museum at Newport.



Fig. 3.

At Ashen Down, a barrow, having a Roman interment, as shown by the incineration of the remains, was examined by Mr. Dennett in 1827.² Neither weapon nor ornament of any kind was detected in this barrow.

At Arreton Down Mr. Dennett witnessed the opening of a barrow, in which was a skeleton, with fibulæ, a comb, and a portion of a spear-head, having some *débris* of wood still remaining in the socket.

Mr. Dennett was disposed to regard the interments

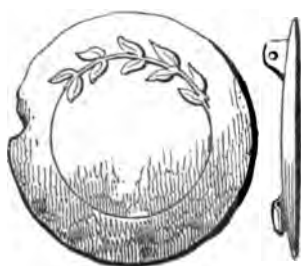
¹ Winchester volume, p. 153.

² *Ib.*, p. 156.

about Chessell Down as Danish, from the bird-shaped brooches; but those have, I believe, been more generally assigned to the Roman period.¹

In 1815 an examination of some barrows at Arretton Down was made by the Isle of Wight Society, an account of which² has been given by the rev. Mr. Kell, from a memorandum book of Thomas Cooke, esq. The articles

¹ Several of the articles mentioned are figured in plate 12. Fig. 1 represents a thin pendulous ornament from Chessell; fig. 2, a copper-gilt fibula from a barrow on Chessell down; fig. 3, a copper ornament, the reverse of which seems to show that it was used as a stud; fig. 4, a fibula; figs. 5, 6, 7, and 8, various beads from Chessell; fig. 9, a fibula of copper-gilt; fig. 10, tweezers in bronze, from the same locality; fig. 11, a fibula of copper gilt, in the form of a bird; fig. 12, an urn, sixteen inches by fourteen; fig. 13, another, of a different shape, broken; fig. 14, an urn, six inches by six and three-quarters; fig. 15, a chocolate-coloured urn, which contained no bones, but was found by the left side of the head of a skeleton. In addition to these objects may also be mentioned a large brooch or fibula, with a portion of very thin, stamped leaf-ornament attached, which the accompanying cut (No. 1) represents at half-size of the original; a small vessel, probably a drinking cup (No. 2); part of a coarse, unbaked urn, of



No. 1.



No. 2.

black earth mixed with portions of small shells, and which, when perfect, might have held about half a gallon,—it was full of burnt bones (No. 3); and a bone ornament (No. 4), probably used as a kind of fastening or button, and here represented half its size.



No. 3.



No. 4.

² Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc., v, 365-369, and vi, p. 453.

found within them are in the Newport Museum, and are Anglo-Saxon. Skeletons, accompanied with iron knives, spears, fibulæ, bone comb, bronze tweezers, urns, some of which contained calcined bones, teeth of horses and hogs.

In 1818 some operations were commenced at Chessell Downs by Mr. J. Skinner, who wrote an account of the discoveries to sir Leonard Holmes, bart., of Westhover.¹ The antiquities consisted of circular clasps, brooches, beads, rings, iron knives, brown pottery, and glass. This spot exhibits a variety of interments, from the simple deposit of the ashes, afterwards placed in urns, and then at a later period the bodies entire, the skeletons being found in considerable numbers.

At Wroxhall Down Mr. Wilson, Mr. Edward Pell, and others, examined some barrows in 1825. They appear to have been of a very early period, the place of interment being surrounded by large flints, and containing unbaked urns, which broke to pieces the moment they were exposed to the sun. One of these was, however, preserved and given to the museum at Oxford. These barrows appear to have been formed at a time prior to the occupation of the island by the Romans, for no article of Roman character was found within them.

In 1853 an examination of twelve tumuli on Ashey Down was made, and forwarded by Mr. Barrow, of Ryde, through Mr. Kell to our Association. The account is rendered in our *Journal*,² where also a map of the tumuli at this part of the island is given, and representations of some of the antiquities discovered, which are now to be seen in the Ryde Museum. The map will be found useful in regard to any future inquiries. The contents of the barrows demonstrate them to have belonged to the ancient inhabitants of the island.

The latest account of barrows belonging to this locality appears in our *Journal* for March last. The paper relates to the examination of some tumuli on Brightstone and Bowcombe Downs by Mr. Hillier, and the evidences produced are in favour of their appertaining to the transitional period between the Roman and Saxon dominations.

¹ *Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. v, p. 367.

² Vol. x, pp. 162-165.

A fibula is of decidedly Roman character. There were also calcined bones, and a coin of Constantine. On the other hand there were skeletons every way perfect, with the exception of the skull, and the graves containing these were isolated from those places in which cremation had been found to have been practised.¹

Other subjects than those appertaining to the barrows of the island have been recorded in the pages of our *Journal*. The consideration of manorial houses is one of considerable interest, although it has not hitherto received its merited degree of attention. At the Winchester Congress, Mr. Adkins Barton, of Newport, drew attention to one of this description, known as Burton or Barton Oratory, in the Isle of Wight. A peculiar interest attached to this place, it having become the property of her most gracious majesty the Queen, and it has since suffered demolition. The record therefore of its former history and condition formed a subject of importance for our pages, and this has been ably done by Mr. Barton. Two sketches illustrative of this building have been engraved by us, and seem to convey a good idea of its architectural characters (see plate 13).

The religious house of Barton was dissolved long before the Reformation, and all information relating to it is to be derived from scattered notices in old documents, together with certain traditions, which have been industriously gathered by Mr. Barton.² The character of the house is what is known as Elizabethan, though in truth it belongs to a period a short time antecedent to the reign of that sovereign. It displayed remarkable simplicity, maintaining at the same time an appearance both impressive and noble. Two of the fronts have been preserved, and will repay the antiquary and the traveller for a visit. The Oratory was founded at the close of the reign of Henry III, or at the commencement of that of Edward I, and notices of the

¹ Later excavations have brought further Anglo-Saxon antiquities to light. These have passed into the collection of lord Londesborough, by whom they will doubtless be well preserved and esteemed, and rendered, I trust, available to the purposes of history, and in aid of the researches of other antiquaries. At present, no account beyond that in the pages of a local newspaper has been given of them; and I shall therefore content myself with expressing a hope that they will be duly illustrated in the pages of the *Archæologia*, our own *Journal*, or some other established source of antiquarian record.

² Winchester volume, pp. 49-54.



South Front



Eastern Entrance

BARTON GRATORY ILLUSTRATED BY F. W. FAIRHOLT

charters connected with it, as observed by John de Pontisserre, bishop of Winchester, give to us a tolerably clear idea of the internal arrangements and purposes of the establishment. The house was under the rule of St. Augustine.

It has likewise fallen to our lot to record various discoveries of coins in the Isle of Wight. Roman coins have frequently been met with: I observed several in the museum at Newport. Mr. Dennett found some in the fields at Bowcombe.¹ A brass coin of Lucius Ælius Cæsar was ploughed up in a field at Wotton.² The earliest Roman coin found in the Isle of Wight, according to Mr. Kell, is that of M. Mæcilius Tullus,³ who was triumvir of the mint in the reign of Augustus. In 1851, several Roman coins were found in making an excavation of a part of the marsh contiguous to the river Medina: they were of Nero, Constantine, Constans, and Valens. Specimens also of Domitian, Faustina the elder and younger, Posthumus, Claudius Gothicus, etc., are recorded in our *Journal*; and we have the authority of Mr. Kell for stating that the museum at Newport contains, arranged and described, nearly one hundred and fifty Roman and Greek coins, found at different times in the Isle of Wight,—a circumstance not calculated to excite astonishment, but greatly confirmatory of its history, and tending to support an opinion strongly maintained by Mr. Kell, that the Romans were more extensively in the Isle of Wight than has been usually supposed by historians. On this subject, however, we shall have the advantage of listening to Mr. Kell in the course of the Congress.

English coins have, as might be expected, been frequently found in the island, and our *Journal* contains several accounts of their discovery; the principal of which, embracing no less than four thousand in number, is that related by Mr. Barton, Mr. Hearn, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Perress, etc.⁴ They were sterlings or pennies, and comprise coins of Henry III, Edward I, II, and III of England; Alexander III and John Baliol of Scotland, Robert Bruce also; and numerous coins of dukes and counts of the

¹ *Journal of the Association*, ii, 102.

² *Ib.*, iii, 120.

³ *Ib.* viii, p. 324, and figured on plate 36 in that volume.

⁴ *Journal* v, 363 et seq.

neighbouring countries. These are known as counterfeit sterlings, and our associate, Mr. Bergne, has communicated some useful observations in reference to them.¹ The deposit appears to have been made in the thirteenth year of the reign of Edward III, a panic at that time having been created by the invasion of the French. Specimens of thirteen mintages in this find have been given by Mr. Perress to the Newport Museum, to which the numismatist may refer.

Ecclesiastical antiquities have also shared our attention. A curious brass in Arreton church of the date about 1430, belonging to a steward of the Isle of Wight, is worthy of notice as an early example of a legend in the English language.² Another from Kingston church, near Chale, of the date of 1536, of Mr. Rychard Mewys, was obligingly forwarded to us by Mr. E. Wilkins.³ An incised slab in Brading church has been well figured in our Winchester volume.⁴ It is of the year 1441, and to the memory of John Curwen, constable of Porchester castle.

An important contribution to the record of mural paintings appears in our *Journal*.⁵ The representations were discovered at Shorwell, in April 1847, and give the legend of St. Christopher and a representation of the Last Judgment. The former has been etched with great accuracy and ability by Mr. Fairholt, from a drawing made by Mr. Barton.

One of the advantages attending the holding of Congresses is to be found in the examination of municipal records and other ancient documents to which they give rise. We have endeavoured to avail ourselves as far as we have been able, of these most important researches. When at Winchester, in 1845, a slight examination was made of those of that city and also of Southampton, and a short paper on the subject was drawn up by Mr. Thos. Wright. The examination of those at the latter place will be still further pursued on this occasion by our esteemed palæographer, Mr. Black, of whose talents in this department it is unnecessary for me to say one word. Difficulties have occasionally stood in the way of obtaining recourse to these ancient documents; these are quickly passing away, and the results obtained by their examination demonstrate the propriety

¹ *Journal*, v, 378.

⁴ P. 315.

² *Ib.*, i, 55.

³ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*, iii, p. 84.

of giving free access to those who know how to avail themselves of the advantages of such inquiries.

I have thus enumerated the principal objects in connexion with this island to which we have through the pages of our *Transactions* given a publicity, and I trust the present Congress will enable us to extend the value of our communications to the public. A variety of incidental matters have at different times been transmitted to us, and will be found duly attended to in our *Journal*;¹ but they are not of sufficient importance to be further specified.

NOTES ON CARISBROOKE CASTLE AND ITS ANCIENT LORDS.

BY WM. BEATTIE, M.D., HON. FOR. SEC.

“A DAY in the Isle of Wight,” is become synonymous with a day of health and recreation; a day which compensates the tourist for months of labour, and sends him back to the wear and tear of this work-day world with renovated spirits, and an instructed mind. In amenity of climate, in variety of vegetable productions, in monuments of antiquity, and the combined attractions of nature and art, this beautiful pendent to the British crown is without a rival. With a sky for its canopy which reminds us of the sweet south, the Arno and the Tiber—a sea from which it rises like a picture from its gorgeous frame—a sea which reflects upon its bosom the invincible bulwarks of the empire, the Isle of Wight has attractions to gratify every taste. But what in our own day, and at the present hour gives it a special attraction, and confers the highest distinction upon the island, is the fact of its being the maritime residence of our illustrious queen, whose moral empire is established in the hearts of her subjects. Well might Drayton exclaim in his day—and the truth is still more apparent in our own—

Of all the Southern Isles, Wight holds the highest place,
And the greatest coronal, hath been in Britain's grace.

¹ *Journal*, ii, 193, 197, 201, 348, 349; v, 346, 347, 352; vi, 439.

But as the object of our Congress in this favoured locality, is not to indulge in poetical sentiments, nor in picturesque descriptions, but to pass in review the works of a remote ancestry, we turn at once to the fortress of Carisbrooke, as to a monument on which their names and deeds are faithfully recorded. Time, indeed, with his never failing auxiliaries of strife and storm, has done much to obliterate the inscription, but where history appears to halt, tradition steps boldly forward; and as archæologists have the art of reading much that is *un*-readable by common eyes, the history of Carisbrooke, and its martial lords, has descended to us in a tolerably connected form.

In the following sketch of Carisbrooke Castle, I shall not infringe upon what, strictly speaking, is the more legitimate province of antiquaries. I shall merely attempt to furnish a distinct outline of the subject, leaving it to one of my co-associates to fill *in* the picture, and correct any mistakes into which ignorance or inadvertence may have betrayed me—"Non omnia possumus omnes."

It is maintained, on competent authority, and after deliberate investigation of its distinctive features, that, of the castle now before us, the *keep* is not of British but of Saxon workmanship. The *basse-court* was a Norman addition by Fitz-Osborne. The walls of the original fortress form a rectangular parallelogram, or nearly so, rounded at the angles, and enclose an area of about twelve roods; the length being from east to west. The Norman portion of the Castle is surrounded by fortifications of a later period, of an irregular pentagonal form, faced with stone, and defended by five bastions.

These outworks, which were added in the reign of queen Elizabeth, are surrounded by a deep ditch, and enclose a space of about twenty acres. They are the work of Genebello, an Italian engineer, constructed on the same model as those of Antwerp, and other places of strength in the Netherlands. They were completed under the governorship of sir George Carey, when the country was threatened by the grand "naval demonstration" on the part of Spain.

To this national work the queen gave four thousand pounds, and the gentlemen of the island four hundred; while the patriotic natives contributed the labour of excavating the outer ditch. On a projecting stone on the



Castle of the Marquis de la Roche, 1780.

north-east corner, the date 1598 is still legible. But the grand object with which these works were carried into existence, was happily defeated. "He blew with his winds and they were scattered."

On the west side is the entrance, through a small arched stone gateway, flanked with two bastions, and with the royal initials E. R., 40,¹ on the keystone. This leads to a second gateway, of the time of Edward IV, machicolated, and flanked by two massive round towers.² (See pl. 14.) The old gate with its "wicket" of strong lattice-work, is an interesting relic of feudal carpentry, and opens upon the castle yard. On the right, stands the chapel of saint Nicholas, erected on the foundation of an oratory, built and endowed by Fitz-Osborne, its first Norman lord. Over this first chapel was an armoury for horse and foot, after the good old fashion; but when steel plate ceased to be a protection against shot, its contents were sold off by the frugal governor of that day.³—But passing on, farther to the left we observe some ruinous apartments, which present no visible attraction, yet are more frequented than any other part of the castle. In these, as vouched for by history and tradition, the "martyr king" was imprisoned for many a long day. And yonder is the window, through which, after sawing one of its iron bars asunder, he made a fruitless effort to escape. Again, there is the roofless mouldering apartment, in which the spirit of his daughter, the princess Elizabeth, took its heavenward flight. It is to these circumstances the spot is indebted for that expression of popular veneration, by which the scene of a national calamity is perpetuated, and casual visitors converted into pilgrims.

The keep, or *donjon*, presents the figure of an irregular *polygon*, and bears the stamp of great antiquity. Of its many angles, some are strengthened by the insertion of hewn stone, one of the improvements introduced by Henry the Fourth, when the main gate was rebuilt. The *donjon well*, a most important adjunct in all places liable

¹ The fortieth year of Elizabeth, the date of its erection.

² The towers may be presumed to have been erected by sir A. Woodville (*temp.* Edward IV), as his arms are still visible. Some portions of the gateway have been esteemed earlier than the reign of Edward III. It has evidently undergone many changes in the progress of time.

³ Lord Cadogan, *circa* 1720.

to be cut off from external intercourse in the event of siege, is described as three hundred feet deep—an estimate which carries it considerably below tidemark in the adjoining straits. The accuracy of this statement, however, cannot be subjected to the test of experiment; for, as a necessary precaution against accidents, the shaft of the well has been long filled up. The keep is approached by an ascent of seventy-two steps, along the west side of the mound upon which it stands. (See pl. 15.) The prospect from this point and the adjoining battlements is particularly striking. With much that is beautiful and picturesque in the foreground, it includes the New Forest, Portsdown, with glimpses of the sea in the distance, and an interval of richly diversified landscape,—

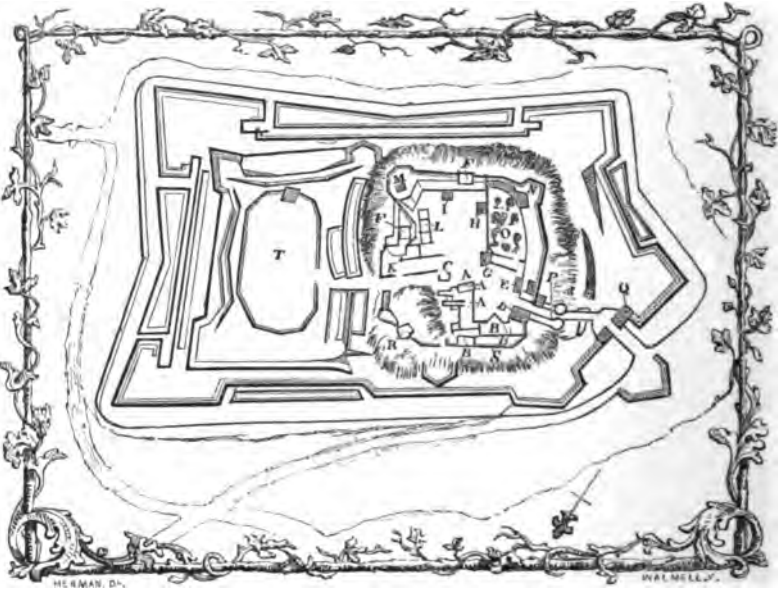
“Whereon the men of other times
Have stamped their names, their deeds and crimes.”

At the south-east angle of the keep are the remains of what is called “Mountjoy tower”: the walls are extremely massive, being in some places not less than eighteen feet thick. This name was probably given to it in honour of a lord Mountjoy, who was governor of Tournay, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The adjoining ramparts, twenty feet high, and eight thick, include a parapet of solid construction, which is carried round the castle.

The “garrison well” is an object of prime interest to the curious. The quality of the water is excellent, the supply inexhaustible: and in instances, we are told, where it has been carried to India and back, its lightness and purity have remained unchanged. It is of great depth; the water is raised by a large windlass-wheel, turned by a patient donkey, one of whose predecessors is immortalized as having held that “office” for a period of forty years. It was usual, when I visited the place, to drop a nail, or even a pin, down the well, which, on reaching the water (in three seconds), produced a sound like the boom of distant artillery. To give a complete view of the interior workmanship, a lighted lamp in a wooden basin is lowered, by means of a pulley; and as it gradually descends, the sudden rarefaction of the air produces a sound like that of hollow wind in a cavern, or the echo of distant thunder. By this simple experiment, and while



ENTRANCE TO THE KEEP OF CARISBROOKE CASTLE.



GROUND PLAN OF CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

EXPLANATION OF PLAN.

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|---|---|
| <p>A. A. Governor's Apartments.</p> <p>B. The parts of it demolished.</p> <p>C. Well of the Garrison.</p> <p>D. The Gunner's House.</p> <p>E. Formerly a Guard House.</p> <p>F. Buildings demolished.</p> <p>G. Parish Church.</p> <p>H. Coach House.</p> <p>I. Powder Magazine.</p> <p>K. Store House.</p> | <p>L. Stables, formerly Barracks.</p> <p>M. South-east Platform.</p> <p>N. South-west ditto.</p> <p>O. Now a Garden.</p> <p>P. Gateway, with Two Round Towers for Prisons.</p> <p>Q. Out Guard.</p> <p>R. Towers of Keep with a Well Thirty-six Fathoms.</p> <p>S. Stone Wall, with its Parapet.</p> <p>T. Place of Arms.</p> |
|---|---|

the basin with the light is floating on the water, the compact masonry, with which the wall is lined, is seen to great advantage, but interrupted here and there by portions of the native rock, through which the shaft has been carried by the original miners.

The Governor's house,¹ now inhabited by the *cicerone* of the castle, is a building of the Elizabethan epoch, with tall chimneys and picturesque gables that resemble the domestic architecture of the Netherlands. Its spacious apartments, once sumptuously furnished and fit for the reception of princes, are now inhabited by the "owls and bats", or only haunted by the restless ghost of some wicked governor.

At the conclusion of the former war, the garrison of Carisbrooke consisted of a governor and his lieutenant, a captain, a master gunner, and three assistants—a military force equal in number, at least, to the "seven wise men of antiquity." In compensation for his arduous duties, the governor received but the trifle of twelve hundred per annum, and his proxy only a pound a day!

And now that we have incidentally touched upon this "office", I shall attempt a brief *précis* of the illustrious warriors and statesmen who have successively figured in history, as "lords and governors of Carisbrooke."

Of these the first in the list was *William Fitz-Osborne*, whom, for services at the battle of Hastings, it became the conqueror's interest to bind to his cause by acts of more than ordinary munificence. United to his chief by ties of blood, and strongly recommended by his prowess in the field, Fitz-Osborne was admitted to his entire confidence, and knew well how to profit by it. The royal favour was accordingly expressed by a grant of the Isle of Wight. A true Norman at heart, he appears to have acted in his new principality with the rapacity of an invader, rather than the conciliatory spirit of a protector. Towards the old native population, he acted with a severity which fully evinced his distrust of their "forced allegiance" to the new dynasty. He expelled the ancient race, and dividing this beautiful island among his Norman followers, established his authority upon a basis cemented by blood and supported by systematic oppression. He was a feudal

¹ For this and other portions of Carisbrooke castle, see ground plan on pl. 16.

despot of the higher stamp, but he had redeeming qualities. He found in this spot only a small Saxon fortalice, and he left it a Norman castle; he instituted the knight's court (*curia militum*), by which, as lord of the island, he could hold judicial tribunals; the church he "loved much", because he "owed it much"—much indeed for its indulgences. But his good or evil works being brought to a sudden close, by the casualties of war, in Flanders, his remains were interred with great pomp in the abbey church of Cormeilles, which he had founded, and where one of his sons had assumed the monastic habit.

To Roger de Bretteville, his eldest son, he bequeathed all his English possessions, namely, the Isle of Wight and the earldom of Hereford. He is supposed to have completed the works in progress at the time of his father's death. But he was of a reckless, ambitious spirit; and, taking part with the turbulent nobles of that period, he entered into a daring conspiracy to dethrone the king; but the facts coming to the royal ear, the mine exploded, a battle was fought, the insurgents were routed, and Roger escaped to Hereford. Being pursued and apprehended, he was tried, found guilty of levying war against his sovereign, his possessions were confiscated, and he himself condemned to imprisonment for life. The king, with a generous remembrance, perhaps, of the father, had a kindly feeling towards the son, and at the feast of Easter sent him a present of "costly robes". Far from considering this as the precursor of his enlargement and restoration to favour, the haughty prisoner construed it into a bitter insult; and, ordering a fire to be kindled, threw the "royal mantle", "silken coat", and "precious furs", into it with his own hand—smiling to see how the flames mounted on the addition of a "faggot" so novel and expensive!

This fiery ordeal being reported to the king, he swore by the glory of God (*per splendorem Dei*), his usual oath, that, thenceforth, earl Roger's only robe should be the roof of his prison. He kept his word: the proud lord of Carisbrooke was subjected to a most rigorous imprisonment; and, without the sustaining force of a good conscience, fell an early victim to the resentment he had so wantonly provoked.

Roger de Bretteville having thus forfeited his hereditary

honours and possessions, was succeeded in the lordship of Carisbrooke by his nephew, Richard de Redvers,¹ to be held in escuage of "fifteen knights' fees". From that time the crown had no demand on the landholders of the island; but only on its "lord", whose tenants held their lands as of "the castle of Carisbrooke"; whence in the *Liber Feodorum* it is styled the "honor of Carisbrooke". They were chargeable towards making the lord's eldest son a knight, and to the marrying of his daughter. All heirs under age were in the wardship of the lord of the island: tenants were bound to defend the castle, when required, for forty days, at their own charges; they were also to attend their chief on his entering and leaving the island. He had "the return of the king's writs, nominated his own bailiffs and constable, was coroner within the island, had a chase, now called Parkhurst forest, where he had a fence-month, as well as in certain moors, and a warren on the east side of the Medina." He had, moreover, "wrecks, waifs and strays, with fairs and markets at Newport and Yarmouth." He was, in all respects, a great feudal chief, loyal to the crown and liberal to the church; and with the king's favour and the monks' benison, he made his final exit in the first year of king Stephen.

His successor, Baldwin de Redvers or Rivers, taking part with the empress Maud against king Stephen, put the castle of Carisbrooke into a state of defence. He invented, we are told, "certain warlike engines, at a cost of much treasure"; but, as in later instances, the engines proved useless in the face of the enemy. He was compelled, with his wife and family, to take refuge in Normandy; from which, however, he afterwards returned to the quiet enjoyment of his possessions. Among other pious works, he founded the abbey of Quarr.

Among others of this family who held in succession the castle and "honor" of Carisbrooke, the most illustrious was William de Vernon, who, with three of his peers, supported the silken canopy over "*Cœur-de-Lion*" at his second coronation. As "earl" of the Isle of Wight, he joined the other barons in wresting from king John the grand bulwark of English liberty. He resided chiefly at his castle of Carisbrooke, which, having received many repairs and embellish-

¹ Afterwards earl of Devon or Rivers.

ments from his predecessors, had become as remarkable for its strength as for the beauty of its scenery, which at that early period was enhanced by extensive forests.

Earl Baldwin—the fifth of his name—who as earl of Devon enjoyed the lordship of Carisbrooke, followed closely in the steps of his fathers. He married a princess of Savoy, cousin of queen Eleanor; and at the nuptials of the duke of Britany with Beatrice, daughter of Henry III, received the honour of knighthood. To him the town of Yarmouth is indebted for its first charter of franchise; and Carisbrooke for liberty to hold a fair and market. But, at an entertainment given by his kinsman, Peter, count of Savoy, both he and Richard, earl of Gloucester, are said to have been poisoned. The frequent recurrence of such facts or suspicions in the old chronicles, too clearly proves that the practice was generally admitted. It is painful to observe the ingenious precautions adopted by persons of rank in the daily use of their domestic viands.

We pass now to Isabella de Fortibus, who, on the death of her husband, William de Fortibus, earl of Albemarle, took up her residence in the castle. From her attention to the general interests of the inhabitants, and her “liberality to the church”, she became popular with all classes except the abbot of Quarr, by whom she was charged with grievous wrongs towards the Cistercians. The question having been laid before the king, the sheriff of Hampshire was ordered to take the abbey lands under his protection, until matters could be adjusted. This lady of the island—“*domina insulæ*”—lived in great state, appeared much in public; and to her charter of franchise the beautiful town of Newport owes its foundation and subsequent prosperity. By will, she conveyed the island to Edward I, who, after a fruitless appeal from the heir-at-law, Hugh Courtenay, held possession of it during his life. At the accession of his son, the lordship of Carisbrooke was bestowed upon the royal favourite, Piers Gaveston; then upon Edward, earl of Chester, the renowned Edward III, who managed the affairs of the island by means of wardens, who resided in the castle. The popularity of Edward was evinced by many acts of valour and patriotism on the part of the inhabitants, who, in every act of aggression from hostile cruisers, repulsed the invaders, and maintained the title of their “invincible island.”

In the reign of Richard II, the castle of Carisbrooke was granted to William Montacute, whom his services in apprehending Mortimer in the queen's chamber had raised to the earldom of Salisbury. This "lord of the isle" was a mirror of chivalry, filled the highest offices of state, and in the body-guard of Edward III had performed many gallant exploits, which figure in the old chronicles. Amidst all his glory, however, he had the unspeakable misfortune, in a grand tilting match at Windsor, to slay his son—his only son!

The next great personage who figured as lord of Carisbrooke and the island, was Edward, earl of Rutland; who, after a career of crimes, moral and political, had at last the grace to confess them; was restored to royal favour, inherited his father's title as duke of York, filled the high post of lieutenant of Aquitaine, and fell gloriously at the battle of Agincourt.

Leaving no family, he was succeeded by his widow, the duchess Philippa. At her death the castle and manor of Carisbrooke descended to Humphrey "the good" duke of Gloucester; and from him, in virtue of a royal grant, to Henry Tranchard.

But the greatest event in its history was the coronation of a "king of Wight", in the person of Henry Beauchamp, "duke" of Warwick. At this august ceremony, king Henry VI presided, and with his own hand placed the crown on the head of his subject monarch. But the title of king conveyed no regal authority in the island. To him, the crown and sceptre were as shadowy as the mitre and crosier of a modern bishop of Palmyra or Boothia Felix.

But, without entering into details of what is familiar to every reader of history, we come next to sir Edward Wydeville, whom Henry VII appointed to the captaincy of the island. Soon after this, and while the rupture between the duke of Britany and the king of France was at its height, Wydeville, mistaking the king's pleasure in the quarrel, became an active and zealous partizan of the duke's. Assembling the inhabitants at Carisbrooke, he addressed them in a powerful harangue, appealed to them as "sons of the invincible island", urged them to arm in a cause which the king, as he thought, had much at heart, and would certainly reward their loyal services. His elo-

quence, his political influence, his personal intrepidity, each had its effect upon the excited multitude. Numerous recruits flew to his standard, from whom he selected as fine a body of men as ever drew sword in a bad cause! All men of stamp and martial prowess, forty gentlemen and four hundred common soldiers, the very flower of the island, and all dressed in white coats and red crosses, they made instant preparations to embark. The whole population accompanied them to the shore. From every religious house in the island, monks arrived to consecrate the departing banners, and pronounce blessings upon those who bore them. Elated with hope, buoyed up with the prospect of brilliant rewards, they felt assured that they were only leaving penury and the ignoble drudgery of a peasant's life, to reap a harvest of glory, and bask in the light of a victorious sun.

Four vessels, the transports of that day, lay at anchor at the small port of St. Helen's. As the embarkation proceeded, all pressed forward to take a last look of their fathers, brothers, lovers, friends, and old companions. There might be sorrow, indeed, but the general expression was that of exultation. All predicted speedy triumphs and a safe return! As they weighed anchor, the setting sun threw its golden lustre upon their harness. From the shore, shout after shout followed them, till the landmarks of this beautiful island faded away in the twilight. With the morning sun, they descried the coast of Britany, the soil on which they already triumphed by anticipation. But the coast of Britany, so inviting in the distance, proved a Crimea to our little band of heroes! From on board ship, they marched at once into battle. They had sworn to keep the field as victors, or to cover it with their dead bodies. True to their word, they stood like a wall of brass in front of the enemy. Again and again they repulsed his iron columns; until, overwhelmed by numbers, deserted by those whom they had come to serve, they fought with such desperation that only *one* man, we are told, returned home with the mournful tidings of the day! Not a family in the island but had lost sons or relatives; gloom and distraction were everywhere apparent. The very music that floated in the air was the sound of masses for the dead!

From the date of this rash and disastrous enterprise, the

lordship of Carisbrooke became annexed to the crown. Among the king's lieutenants and wardens, down to the reign of Elizabeth, several names occur which have a place in the national annals. But to enumerate them would far exceed the limits assigned to these notes. It may be mentioned, however, that in the captaincy of Richard Worsley, the island was visited by Henry VIII, who was sumptuously entertained at Appuldurcombe, the ancient seat of the Worleys, where he was pleased to amuse himself with hawking and other princely field sports.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the castle of Carisbrooke underwent a thorough change. Extensive barracks, arsenals, and outerworks were added. It was strengthened by all the warlike appliances of that day. The diminutive loopholes, through which had glanced the "feathered shafts" of Fitz-Osborne, were transformed into embrasures, in which rested the ponderous engines of modern warfare: while the troopers and musqueteers, who now crowded its approaches, or paced its battlements, gave its ancient precincts all the stir and animation of a citadel.

But the "Invincible Armada," against which so many preparations had been made, drifted harmlessly by, only to waste its strength in a hopeless conflict with the elements. The guns of Carisbrooke were left to their sullen repose; and the island, half frightened from its propriety, speedily resumed its tranquil aspect.

This island, as the historian informs us, had remained comparatively unmolested till the reign of Edward II, when the French took it "more by craft than force". On another occasion, having effected a landing, the inhabitants took refuge in Carisbrooke castle, then defended by sir Hugh Tyrrell. During the siege, a party of our noble allies, in attempting to reach the castle by a narrow lane, fell into an ambuscade, and were mostly cut off. The spot is still called "Dead Man's-lane".

Again, in the reign of Henry V, a body of Frenchmen, on a sudden visit to the island, intimated their intention to spend Christmas with the inhabitants, and taste their "rosbif". But on the following day, as they were driving a herd of cattle towards their own ships, they were suddenly attacked by the owners, and obliged not only to leave their plunder but many of their men behind them.

On another occasion, a French fleet arrived and demanded a subsidy. The islanders said, "No; but if you have a mind to try your prowess, we will give you full permission to land, with six hours to refresh yourselves, after which you shall meet us in open field." But this frank invitation was as frankly declined. The refreshments and the fight were alike unpalatable; and our noble allies, suddenly crowding sail, stood out to sea.

At that unhappy period when the whole country was agitated by the question between "king and parliament", Carisbrooke was under the command of the earl of Portland. But this "noble, much-honoured, and beloved captain," as they described him, was superseded by colonel Brett. In the meantime, the countess, with her five children, took refuge in the castle, in the vain hope of still holding it for the king. But at the instigation of the mayor of Newport, who considered the island in jeopardy, so long as colonel Brett and the countess of Portland had command of the castle, parliament directed the captains of all ships in the river to co-operate with the mayor in active measures for securing the island. Hereupon, the Newport militia, with four hundred naval auxiliaries, were drawn up under the walls of the castle, which had then not more than three days provision left for its slender garrison. The alternative was surrender, or famine. The countess, with her young family around her, felt a shudder as the planting of hostile ordnance commenced, with the probable effusion of human blood. There was no time for hesitation, no time for parley. With the magnanimity of a Roman matron, or, better still, the inborn courage of a true Englishwoman, she snatched hold of a lighted match, rushed to the platform and, in accents that thrilled the besiegers, exclaimed: "Hear me! Unless honourable terms are granted to the garrison, in whose name I speak, with this hand I will fire the first cannon, and defend these walls to the last extremity."

The Roundheads, struck with her dignified and resolute demeanour were awed into sentiments of mixed pity and admiration. As with raised hand she stood by the gun, every eye was turned upwards, every hand seemed paralysed, and in a moment as if by the command of heaven, the besiegers paused in their operations; and on terms

dictated by the countess herself, the fortress was surrendered to parliament.

With this trait of female heroism I close these hasty and superficial notes on Carisbrooke, in the full conviction that, whatever I have omitted, will be amply supplied by those of my learned colleagues to whom these venerable ruins have been the subject of long and patient investigation. "Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the scale of thinking beings. Far from me, and from my friends, be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery and virtue." And on such ground we now stand in the ruins of Carisbrooke castle.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH BELGÆ,

INHABITANTS, DURING THE ROMAN PERIOD, OF VARIOUS PARTS OF
BRITAIN, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN PARTS,
INCLUDING HAMPSHIRE AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY BEALE POSTE.

As the subject which I now propose to treat is one of considerable extent, and might easily run out into much prolixity, I shall only touch on its principal features, with the utmost attainable conciseness. I shall enter into the discussion of no disputed points, because to do so would be incompatible with the brevity which I study; at the same time, it may be right to say that Julius Cæsar, the Triads, ancient British coins, and Nennius, supply the proof and illustration of the early immigrations; while various miscellaneous authorities have been used in treating of the later periods, which for the most part are referred to.

I must begin with tracing the Belgæ from the continent. All Gaul was formerly divided into two portions, Gallia Belgica and Gallia Celtica. The inhabitants were all alike Celts; but Gallia Belgica had, at some period anterior to historical records, been overrun by the Tentones or Germans, who settled in the country among the original inhabitants, and in the result formed one nation with them. It appears from remnants of their language, that the whole mass became essentially Celtic; though, as it might be supposed, there is likewise evidence that they spoke a dialect of the Celtic language with some admixture of German words in it. Thus much will suffice to bring the principal actors in the events which I have to touch upon to our view.

Now there appears to have been this difference between the Belgic and Celtic Gauls, as on the continent, that though the Belgic division of the nation joined their brethren of purer Celtic blood in their military expeditions to the East, for which they are so celebrated in history, from the year 395 before Christ to the year 278, in the course of which they ravaged Italy several times, captured Rome, invaded Greece, plundered Delphi, and passed over into Asia Minor, and occupied a whole province there, called after them Galatia; yet it was only the Belgic Gauls which made the expeditions to the West—that is, to Britain. Theirs was the sole merit or demerit in these affairs; the first of which is believed to have been about 360 years before Christ, the second about 130, and the third about 85. Some qualification is necessary in speaking of the respective periods, and an indefinite word is necessary to be used, as the real time is not known with exactitude.

These three immigrations, or invasions, of course form topics of importance in the present sketch of the doings of the Belgic Gauls in Britain. The truth of them is established by a variety of data; and they may be referred to as undoubted facts.

But, if the invasions be undoubted facts, yet there may be some hesitation in speaking of the territory acquired by the Belgic Gauls in the first invasion in the year 360, and limiting what it was. It may be thought that the invaders on that occasion occupied all Britain, with excep-

tion of the part anciently called Dumnonia, south of the Humber and Mersey, but only slightly occupied the northern parts of the said territories. It is certain that when the next inroad of their brother Celts came, about 130 years before Christ, they appropriated to themselves all the country south of the Humber, and north of Essex, Oxfordshire, etc., clear across the island in the same parallel of latitude, including North Wales. It is clear, likewise, that the Belgæ in the third invasion, mentioned by Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, which occurred about 85 years before Christ, took possession of the whole tract of land or district which lay south of the Thames and Severn, including the Isle of Wight. Their sway extended as far west as the kingdom of Dumnonia, mentioned before, which comprised Cornwall, Devonshire, and part of Somersetshire.

We are thus to understand that the Belgæ became lords of Britain south of the Mersey and the Humber: but when they became settled here, they for the most part lost their generic names, as I will proceed to specify. The northern portion of them were called the Icenî, or Coritani, or Coranians; the middle Belgæ of the island solely retained their name on a few of their coins, and were styled Britons *par excellence*; while only a portion of the southernmost kingdom of them, namely, the inhabitants of Hampshire, Wiltshire, part of Somersetshire, and the Isle of Wight, were called Belgæ; the inhabitants of Dorsetshire being known as the Durotriges; those of Surrey and Sussex as the Regni; those of Berkshire as the Attrebates; and their adjoining neighbours as the Segontiaci; and the people of Kent as the Cantii. These are their names (I am speaking of the southern Belgæ) in history and geography. The two southernmost races or colonies, however, the middle Belgæ and the southern Belgæ called themselves "Firbolgi"; that is men of the Belgic race, as is known with certainty, because that name appears on various of their coins, and is mentioned in the Irish manuscripts of Nennius.

I have thus laid down the position of the Belgæ in Britain. I must now proceed with the same conciseness to relate the fortunes of their three kingdoms in our island, beginning from the north.

I. The Iceni, or Coranians, with their dependencies, forming the northernmost kingdom of the Belgæ, neither conquered either of the other two kingdoms, nor were conquered by them, but continued independent to the times of the Romans, when they submitted under their king and queen, Prasutagus and Boadicea. It may be useful to note that these people comprised five states: the Iceni Proper, the Iceni Coritani, the Cangi, Cornavii, and Ordovices. These states had a coinage.

II. The middlemost Belgæ formed the most powerful kingdom of the three, and under their king Cunobeline attained great eminence. They ultimately held in subjection the southern Belgæ, as also the Dumnonii, and had a most extensive coinage. They comprised the following states: the Trinobantes, Cassii, Dobuni, and Silures.

III. The southern Belgæ. These were at war with their northern neighbours at the time Julius Cæsar visited the island. He calls them the "Maritime States of Britain", and mentions four of their kings: Carvillius, Cyngetorix, Segonax, and Taximagulus. The various states which the southern Belgæ comprised have been mentioned before. They had a coinage to some considerable extent; and about thirty years before the Roman invasion under Claudius, they were entirely subdued by Cunobeline.

I have now traced these three kingdoms down to the Roman invasion; and, when we come to these times, the current of events is found to run in a different channel. Once in contact with the Romans, and their position began to alter much for the worse.

The southern Belgæ, encouraged as it should seem by the proximity of the Roman army in Gaul, rebelled, under their leader Vericus, against Cunobeline's sons. He met with no success, and fled to the Roman emperor Caligula, then in Gaul, for protection, and was favourably received. This eventually produced the invasion, a few years afterwards, under Claudius; which Vericus appears to have accompanied with alacrity, in command of a body of his countrymen, doubtless expecting to receive some territory in the island, but was killed in one of the battles towards the end of the first year of the war. By the end of the second year the Romans had conquered Cunobeline's sons, and occupied all their territories except the mountainous

parts to the west; that is, the country of the Silures, who inhabited South Wales. But behold! these same southern Belgæ, who had been the means of bringing the Roman armies into the island, now allowed themselves to be influenced by the discomfited generals and leaders in the late war, and themselves took up arms in the year 45, in concert with the Dumnonii, and maintained a most obstinate contest against the Romans; and were opposed by Vespasian, afterwards emperor, who had the second legion and auxiliaries with him. In the end, after two years spent in fighting twenty-seven battles, and storming twenty towns, the Belgæ were entirely subdued, and the Isle of Wight taken. However, the victory was somewhat softened to the vanquished; for the Dumnonii, as tributaries, were allowed to remain under their native princes; while a scion, not of the house of Vericus, but of that of Cunobeline, was placed over the Belgæ, who was named Cogidubnus. He was a person of some celebrity, and is mentioned by Tacitus: and it nearly admits of demonstration, that he was identical with the Marius or Meurig, a king who is recorded in the ancient British chronicles, from whom Lucius, the first Christian king in the island, is reported to have descended, and who died in the year 78. We have, besides, his name as occurring in an inscription found at Chichester rather more than a century since, which has been treated of by several learned writers.

The Roman domination at length wore away in the island, and a new phase of things began. That portion of the British Belgæ called the Cantii, otherwise the inhabitants of Kent, received the first shock of invasion of their new, or rather old enemies, the Saxons; that is, the first in which they had to oppose them unassisted by the Romans, for jointly they had often opposed them before. This took place about the year 455, though they landed as allies some years before. The Belgæ in Sussex, called the Regni, had to receive the second, in the year 477; and their capital city, Anderida, was captured in 491, which concluded the war. The Belgæ in Hampshire and Wiltshire, who still retained the proper name of their race, received the third attack, in 495, when a Saxon leader, named Cerdic, landed at a place called Cerdics-ore, supposed by some to have been the western shore of South-

ampton Water. Afterwards another leader, named Port, landed it is believed at Portchester in 501.

The Saxon war, which lasted a hundred and thirty-two years, with but a few short intervals, computing it from the year 455 to 586, was one of the fiercest contests known in the history of nations. The middle part of the war, in which the Belgæ were overthrown, in 530 and 552, at the first of which periods the Isle of Wight was taken, was the most destructive. At this time neither side seem to have given or received quarter. In these frightful wars, the Saxons not only killed all they overcame in battle, but slaughtered all the inhabitants of the towns, villages, and detached dwellings. The whole of the country may be said to have flowed with blood. A speedy flight was the only resource to the vanquished: indeed, even should their lives have been spared, it would have been profitless to remain, all towns, buildings, and edifices, being burnt down, and the country entirely desolated. (See Rudborne's *Chronicle*, and the *History* of Gildas.) A flight to the westward, on the occurrence of ill-success, was therefore their constant expedient: and not only the Belgæ, but the other Britons generally, having only too much cause to repeat the process, they ultimately found their strongholds in Wales and Dumnonia.

Henry of Huntingdon, in his *History*, give a very animated, and in many respects, it may be thought, an exact and methodical account of a great portion of the battles. His sources are unknown, but were Saxon, and so far unfavourable to the Britons; and yet he by no means disparages their valour. From him we learn that the Britons thought it would conduce most to their success in their contests with the Saxons to observe Roman tactics, which accordingly they made their study, and carried out very systematically, notwithstanding they had, properly speaking, no permanent army, but only forces occasionally brought together. So great appears to have been their confidence in this principle, that when from time to time they were worsted and lost ground, they seem to have supposed that it arose from their not having sufficiently closely followed these Roman military rules; and they endeavoured to supply the deficiency by adhering more strictly to them. Their most strenuous efforts, however,

were in vain ; as we are repeatedly told that the Saxons were accustomed to attack in dense masses, or, as we should now express it, in solid squares ; and thus, in the majority of cases, they bore down all before them.

The Britons, if we may so say, had a number of their choice places in the country of the southern Belgæ. They had Abury and Stonehenge, both connected with their religion ; and the latter the scene of their annual festival, as also the cemetery of their kings. They had their favourite cities Venta Belgarum, or Winchester, and Sorbiodunum or Sarum, and their oceanic gem, Vectis, or the Isle of Wight. They had their national convention celebrated by their bards and in the Triads at Sarum, as long as they could remain there unmolested, that is, till subsequent to the year 504, after which they removed it to Caerleon.

I will give Henry of Huntingdon's narrative in a translated form of one of the battles, which occurred in the year 510 of the Christian era. He describes in it a force of the Britons hastily collected to oppose a new invasion, under Stuph and Wihtgar, nephews of Cerdic, which took place a second time at Cerdics-ore, a place which I have before alluded to, and which appears to have been on the west shore of Southampton Water, to the north of Calshot Castle, and thus within sixteen or seventeen miles of the place of Congress of the Association.

After mentioning that the enemy had landed, he continues thus : " Early in the morning, the chiefs of the Britons had placed the army of their countrymen in array in most admirable order, according to the rules of war. The sun rose upon them as part were drawn up upon the heights, and as part were advancing carefully and cautiously to feel their way on the lower grounds. All at once the sun was resplendent on their burnished shields, the very hills glittered with them, the air shone clearer, and the Saxons were stricken with fear as they advanced to battle. When, however, these two brave armies joined, the Britons lost their confidence, because God had cast them off. A great victory was gained, and the two leaders of the Saxons, Stuph and Wihtgar, gained much territory ; and the renown of their king Cerdic became extolled through the land."

Henry of Huntingdon describes some of the other

battles much more in detail than this ; but his narrative here is sufficient to convey the impression that the Britons of those days were well armed, disciplined to a certain degree to war, and well commanded.

As well as sustaining defeats, the Britons were sometimes favoured by success : and it was not till twenty years after the before-described engagement that the Isle of Wight was taken by Wihtgar, one of the chiefs above mentioned. No details are given besides the date ; but the accounts differ in one respect. The *Saxon Chronicle* says that but few of the Britons were killed, and Florence of Worcester, in his *History*, expresses the same ; while Ethelwerd's *Chronicle*, which is usually on other occasions the mere echo of the Saxon one, reports that there was a very great carnage of the Britons at Wihtgarasburg, or Carisbrooke castle, where it may be inferred they made their stand. He is supported by Henry of Huntingdon, whose testimony is to the same effect. No British history or chronicle mentions the taking of the island, so we have not the advantage of a collateral account from that source. Four years afterwards, Cynric, son and successor to Cerdic, gave the island to its conquerors, Stuph and Wihtgar, in possession, which Wihtgar held, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, to his death, ten years afterwards ; while of Stuph there is no further mention. The almost equal division of the island into two parts, East and West Medina, might perhaps have originated in this joint occupation.

The taking of the Isle of Wight by no means terminated the war on the main land, where our Belgæ continued the contest with the Saxons for more than twenty years with various fortunes. The dominion of the Saxons in these parts began to be called the kingdom of Wessex, which some centuries afterwards gained the ascendancy over the other Saxon kingdoms, and engrossed the whole island. The Belgæ had from time to time the assistance of the other Britons, which only tended to prolong the struggle, and increase the slaughter. They first lost Winchester, the time of which event is not exactly known, though they are believed to have possessed it up to about 545. A few years after this our Belgæ, with the aid of the other Britons, made a stand in a great battle at Salisbury

against the West Saxons, who were under Cynric their king. This was in the year 552: and the result was that they were so severely defeated that we hear no more of the war in these parts, nor in reality of the Belgæ themselves, there being no further mention of them. Indeed, it may be believed that they quitted these parts *en masse*, and joined their countrymen in the west; that is, such of them as could escape the sword; abandoning thus the territories which they had held for at least six centuries. (See Rudborne's *Chronicle*.) Such events, rare in modern times, are not unusual in ancient history.

The next battle which occurred between the Britons and Saxons took place in the year 556, at Banbury, far from the Belgic provinces in the south, where the conflict had now ceased, and the stillness of desolation prevailed. One frontier town, Aquæ Solis, or Bath, on the north-western frontier, remained, which did not fall till about twenty years after the taking of Sarum: but here again there is some little doubt whether this town were really held by them or by the other Britons.

ON THE LORDS OF THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY JAMES ROBINSON PLANCHÉ, ESQ., ROUGE CROIX, HON. SEC.

SIR RICHARD WORSLEY, in the third chapter of his *History of the Isle of Wight*, has furnished us with such an elaborate account of the lords of the island, that to have prepared one for the present occasion may appear an act of supererogation. Seventy-four years have passed, however, since sir Richard's work was first presented to the public, and during that period much light has been thrown on the early history of the British islands; and, although the principal facts recorded by him remain unshaken by modern discovery, I may perhaps be enabled to rectify some details of importance to the genealogist, and raise a point or two for discussion and further explanation. I may also, without offence I trust, presume that all my hearers have not

sir Richard Worsley's *History* in their possession, and that to many even the names of the ancient lords of the island may be unknown.

The lordship of the Isle of Wight, as sir Richard has observed, does not appear to have been granted to any subject before the Norman conquest. The tenants of the crown, in the time of Edward the Confessor, seem to have held their estates in the island under the same conditions as the land-holders in other parts of the kingdom; but on the accession of William the Conqueror, that prince granted it to WILLIAM FITZ-OSBORNE, his kinsman, to be held by him as freely as he himself held the realm of England, as is recorded in the chartulary of Carisbrooke priory, of which Fitz-Osborne was the founder. This chartulary is said in a note to have been, at the time of the publication of the work, in the possession of sir Richard Worsley; and Dugdale, in his *Monasticon*, gives a memorandum from it, in which it is stated that William Fitz-Osborne had two sons, John and Richard, who died in their father's lifetime, and that after their death, and the death of the said William, their father, the estates descended to Richard de Redvers. This information Dugdale repeats from the same authority in his *Baronage*, under the head of Redvers, vol. i, p. 254. Now, if this be a correct quotation from the chartulary of Carisbrooke, here is a curious point of inquiry to begin with, for neither Brooke in his *Catalogue*, nor Vincent in his correction of him, nor Banks in his revision of Dugdale, alludes to either of these sons. William Fitz-Osborne, by his first wife Adeliza, daughter of Roger de Toeni, undoubtedly had three sons. William, who succeeded to his father's estates in Normandy; Ralph, a monk, at Cormeilles; and Roger, surnamed de Breteuil, who inherited the lordship of the Isle of Wight and all the estates of his father in England. By his second wife, Richildis, daughter of Reginald, earl of Hainault, he is said to have had no issue, and in none of his charters that I have seen is there any mention of a son named John or Richard. It may be argued that as these sons are said to have died in their father's lifetime, it is not improbable that he had more issue than is set down in the pedigrees, but that "the estates descended to Richard de Redvers after their death and the death of William, their father," is so notoriously untrue

that it shakes our confidence in the rest of the statement. William Fitz-Osborne, earl of Hereford and lord of the Isle of Wight, was slain at Ravenchoven near Cassel, on the 22nd of February, 1071,¹ fighting against Robert the Frisian, in support of the claim of Ernulph, son of his countess Richildis by her former husband, Baldwin, earl of Flanders, and was succeeded in his English possessions, not by Richard de Redvers but, as I have already stated, by his second son.

ROGER DE BRETEUIL, second earl of Hereford and lord of the Isle of Wight, who conspiring with Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, and others against William the Conqueror, was taken, tried, found guilty of treason, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, with the confiscation of his lands and loss of all his honours. "Even in prison," says that graphic old contemporary chronicler, Ordericus Vitalis, "even there he often caused the king great annoyance, and rendered him implacable by his obstinate contumacy. For instance, on one occasion when the faithful were celebrating the feast of Easter in due form, and the king had sent to earl Roger in prison, by the hands of his guards, a box containing a suit of very valuable robes, the earl caused a large fire to be made, and committed to the flames the royal presents, the surcoat, and silken tunic and mantle of the furs of precious ermines brought from abroad. The king, hearing of this, exclaimed in great wrath, 'He is very insolent to put such an affront upon me; but, by God's light, he shall never get out of prison while I live!' And the royal will was so determined and so firmly carried out, that even *after the king's death* the earl was detained in captivity until his own death released him from it. His two sons, Reynold and Roger," continues the chronicler, "young men of great promise, are now in the service of king Henry, and in great distress are waiting for the exercise of his clemency, which appears to them sufficiently tardy." This account, written during the reign of Henry I, and consequently before

¹ It is curious that in the *Appendix to the Second General Report from the Commissioners on Public Records*, p. 347, the learned writer should, in speaking of Wigmore castle, which was built by earl William, add, "this was William Fitz-Osborne earl of Hereford, who ended his days in prison, 1071"; quoting Kelham, *Domesday Book*, illustrated. Ordericus tells us that the body of earl William was carried to Normandy by his men-at-arms, and interred, amid much sorrow, in the abbey of Cormeilles, which he had founded. (B. iv, chap. viii.)

December 1135, is exceedingly interesting, as it shows us in the first place that earl Roger, who is said to have died in 1086, outlived William the Conqueror, who did not die till September 1087 ; and in the second, that although we have no record of the marriage of Roger de Breteuil, he left two sons who were living at the time their father's honours and possessions had passed into the hands of the family of Redvers. They are also spoken of as young men of great promise ; they were therefore probably born during their father's imprisonment, which commenced in 1078, and terminated only with his life ; for taking the very earliest date at which this account could have been written, namely, the first of Henry I, 1100, the youngest must then have been two-and-twenty, if born before the earl's arrest and condemnation. The eldest, Reynold, is said by Milles, but I know not on what authority, to have married Emeline de Balun. One thing is at least clear, that whether legitimate, or illegitimate as some would lead us to imagine, they never succeeded in their attempts to propitiate their sovereign, for shortly after the accession of Henry I he granted the lordship of the Isle of Wight to

RICHARD DE REDVERS, one of the five barons who adhered to the king in his contest with his brother Robert for the crown of England, in acknowledgement of which good service Henry had also created him earl of Devonshire. This Richard was the first of the family called de Redvers, Rivers, or Ripariis, from Reviers near Creuilli, and afterwards, de Vernon, from the castle of that name in the Cotentin. He was the son of Baldwin, whose name appears as subscribing a charter to the Abbaye-aux-Dames in 1082, and who is set down by most of our genealogists as Baldwin de Brionne, or de Molis from Meules in Normandy ; or as he was sometimes called "de Excestre", from his having the government of the castle of Exeter in fee with the barony of Oakhampton through his marriage with Albreda, niece to William the Conqueror.¹ This marriage, however, is by

¹ He was also called Baldwin de Sap, from the lordship of Le Sap in Normandy, Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert, as the son of Gilbert count de Brionne, and Baldwin the viscount, being vicecomes Devonise. This plurality of titles, to say nothing of their various translations and corruptions, is a serious stumbling-block in the way of the genealogist ; and our obligations are great to the editor of the French translation of Ordericus, who has considerably enlightened us on the subject of the possessions of the old Norman nobility.

no means undisputed; but as Richard is the first of his line with whom we have to do, I will not take up your time at present with mere speculations as to his parentage. We shall find errors enough to correct, and sufficient confusion to dissipate in such part of his history as more immediately concerns us. In the genealogical table of the family of De Redvers in the appendix to sir Richard Worsley's *History*, copied from the *Baronagium* of J. C. Brooke, Somerset herald, and which has been followed by sir Richard, this Richard de Redvers, earl of Devonshire and lord of the Isle of Wight, is said to have died in 1137, and the authority for this date seems to be the *Book of Ford Abbey* as quoted by Dugdale; but Hoveden and Florence of Worcester, place it no less than thirty years earlier, that is, in 1107; and it could not be in 1137, if, as Matthew Paris says, his successor Baldwin was banished England, and had the Isle of Wight taken from him in 1136.¹ The *Book of Ford Abbey* also roundly asserts, and Cleaver, in his *History of the Courtenay Family*, has repeated it, that Richard de Redvers died without issue, and left all his inheritance to Adeliza, his only sister, as also that she was therefore called "Adeliza Comitissa"; but the charters of Baldwin plainly show that he was the son and successor of Richard, and that "there were *two* countesses Adeliza", videlicet, his mother and his wife. These indisputable facts destroy all confidence in the *Book of Ford Abbey*, as far as regards the genealogy of the De Redvers.² The first countess Adeliza, wife of Richard, earl of Devonshire, and mother of Baldwin, is asserted by some to have been the sister and by others the daughter of William Fitz-Osborne, whilst the editor of *Ordericus* would rather deduce her descent from the Centevilles, lords of Vernon. Here, again, being without proof, I will neither assert nor speculate, but pass on to her son

BALDWIN DE REDVERS, the first of that name, earl of Devon and fourth lord of the Isle of Wight. He took the part of the empress Maud, was defeated by Stephen, and

¹ The first charter to Yarmouth, in this island, is said to have been granted by earl Baldwin in 1135,—38th of Henry I (*Barber's Isle of Wight*, p. 101). If this be capable of proof, we need no other evidence.

² Sir William Pole has also denounced it as "utterly false" in its record of the Courtenays. The *Book of Ford Abbey* was formerly in the Cotton collection of MSS. in the British Museum; but on referring to Julius B., 10, its press-mark in the time of Dugdale, I regret to say it is printed in the catalogue as "wanting".

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forced to fly the kingdom with his wife and children, A.D. 1136; but, on the pacification of Henry and Stephen, he was reinstated in his honours and possessions. He was the founder of Quarr abbey in this island, in which holy place he was buried, as were also his countess Adeliza, and his son Henry. His death is placed by Robert de Monte in 1156, under which date he says "*Mortuus est Baldwinus de Redvers et successit Richardus ejus filius*". Of the Adeliza he married we have not the least information, or even surmise. In his charter to Quarr abbey he merely speaks of Adeliza his wife; and in her son William de Vernon's confirmation of it, he simply names her as his mother—"Matris meæ Adelia comitissæ": but he has also been accorded another wife, by name Lucia, and by tradition the daughter of Dru de Balun. The charter of this Baldwin and of Richard his son and heir, to the abbey of Twineham, is certainly witnessed by a "*Lucia comitissa*", as well as by Henry de Redvers and William his brother: but there is no "*uxoris meæ*", nor anything beyond presumption to rest upon in support of the assertion that this countess Lucia was the wife of Baldwin, or that she was the mother by him of Brian Fitz Count, or Brian de Insula.¹ I withhold, therefore, my adhesion to either of these statements, and proceed to

RICHARD DE REDVERS, second of that name, earl of Devonshire, and fifth lord of the Isle of Wight, or as he is styled in his confirmation charter to the abbey of Quarr, "earl of Exeter"—"*Comes Exoniæ et dominus Insulæ Vectæ*." He married, according to some documents, a lady named Hadewisa or Avicia; but his eldest son Baldwin, who succeeded him, in his charter to Twineham abbey, calls his mother Dionissia—"Dionissia comitissa matre mea." Whether Hadewisa or Dionissia was the daughter of Reginald earl of Cornwall, natural son of king Henry I, may be still a question; but by Dionissia it is clear that he left issue Baldwin (and probably Richard, whom the said Baldwin calls "*Ricardo de Redveriis fratre meo*") both successively earls, and died in 1161, or 1162, according to Robert de Monte, who says under the latter date, "*Richardus Redvers dominus Insulæ Vectæ in Angliæ moritur relinquens ex filia Rainaldi comitis Cornubiæ par-*

¹ Richard de Redvers the second, mentions Brian de Insula in his charter of confirmation to Quarr abbey, but not as his brother.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

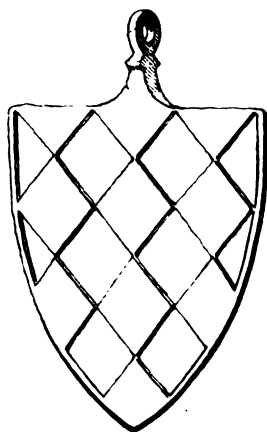


Fig. 3.



vulum filium nomine Baldwinum." His seal is engraved in plate 17, fig. 1, from a charter preserved by the corporation of Newport.¹

BALDWIN DE REDVERS, second of his name, son of Richard and Dyonissia, succeeded his father as fourth earl of Devon and sixth lord of the island, and married Avicia, daughter of Ralph de Dol (not *Alicia*, as may be seen by the Close Roll of the 29th of Henry III, m. 11), and dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother.

RICHARD DE REDVERS, the third of his name, fifth earl of Devon and seventh lord of the isle, who married Margaret, daughter and one of the heirs of John lord Bisset, and died without issue 1184, and was buried at Montsbourg in Normandy, an abbey founded by his great-great-grandfather Baldwin. The *Book of Plympton* says he married Emma, the daughter of Robert de Pontarches; but, in his charter to the abbey of Bramere in Hampshire, he speaks of "Margaret his wife"; and sir Richard Worsley has also engraved her seal, inscribed "Sigillum Margaretæ de Ripariis", and displaying the arms of Bisset, two lions passant, and above the shield a crescent and star, a better evidence than the *Book of Plympton*.

And *apropos* of armorial bearings, this Richard, the third, is the first earl of his family who, according to Brooke and Vincent, bore the heraldic coat of De Redvers, *or*, a lion rampant *azure*. I have not seen a seal of his eldest brother Baldwin;² but those of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather exhibit a griffin, either alone or seizing on some smaller animal, which it would puzzle either a herald or a naturalist to blazon or describe. In no case are these represented *on a shield*; and therefore, previous to 1161 at least, we have no example of a regular heraldic bearing in the family of De Redvers. I must also observe, that the drawings from which sir R. Worsley has engraved the seals of the early De Redvers, cannot be said to be copies of the

¹ Sir John Oglander says that this Richard granted lands to Quarr abbey in 1168, and died in 1169. (MS. of sir J. Oglander, temp. Charles I.) But there is no reliance to be placed upon his dates, many being manifestly incorrect, and no authority quoted for any.

² According to Mr. Benjamin Ferrey (*Antiq. of the Priory of E.C.*, Appendix, p. 7), the one attached to his confirmation charter, preserved in the parish chest of Christchurch, is of green wax, and, though much broken, exhibits a griffin segreant; but the inscription, as far as it is legible, shows this to be the seal of a Richard: "S. Ricardi + F." It is most probably the seal of his father, the same as herewith engraved.

originals, the griffins (as may be seen by comparing them with the one in plate 17) being of a much more modern heraldic form. The seals are, indeed, what the herald considered they *ought* to have been, and not what they were.

WILLIAM, surnamed DE VERNON, from the castle of Vernon in Normandy, second son of the first Baldwin, and brother of the second Richard earl of Devon, succeeded his nephew as fifth earl of Devon, and eighth lord of the Isle of Wight. He married Mabel, daughter of Robert earl of Meulan or Mellent. As if it were determined that there should be a question about the name of every early countess of Devon, Vincent has written in the margin of his own copy of his *Discoverie*, preserved in the College of Arms, "Mabria" against the name of Mabel: but William de Vernon, in his charter to Quarr abbey,¹ distinctly calls his wife "uxoris mea Mabilia comitissa"; and it is probable that he knew his wife's name even better than Augustin Vincent, acute and scrupulous as we must admit the latter to be. Earl William died in 1216 (1st of Hen. III). He was one of the four nobles who supported the canopy over Richard I, on that monarch's second coronation at Winchester, after his return from captivity in Germany; and he is styled by Hoveden, in his account of that ceremony, "earl of the Isle of Wight". His seal shows us the griffin preying on the smaller animal, or as the translator of Camden calls it "clenching a little beast";² and the *secretum* exhibits a winged figure holding a sword and a garland, probably an antique gem. His not bearing the lion is to me an interesting fact, as it supports my theory that the lion was assumed by the family of De Redvers after the marriage of Richard, second of that name, with the daughter of Reginald earl of Cornwall; for it first appears on the seal of her son, while this William de Vernon, his uncle, continued to display the old badge or device of his family. I may here mention, that by the kindness of Mr. Alfred Mew, of Lymington, I am enabled to exhibit to the Association a very interesting heraldic relic, namely, one of those curious metal badges, which formed occasionally a portion of the ornaments of horse furniture during the middle ages (see plate 17, fig. 2). It is a heater shaped shield, with the attributive arms of the earl

¹ The date of this deed to the abbey of Quarr, is said to be 5th Sept. 1206. (Sir J. O.)

² *Britannia*, Devonshire.

of Mellent upon it (lozengy, *or* and *azure*), whose daughter we have just seen was the wife of this William de Vernon. I do not think we can date the relic quite so early as the age of earl William; but it may have been borne by any of his family in allusion to their maternal descent. It was found in the lane leading from Nodgam to Clutterford.

William de Vernon died, as we have said, in 1216; but as early as the first of John, 1199, he had given to the celebrated Hubert de Burgh, chamberlain to the king, and afterwards earl of Kent, who had married his youngest daughter Johanna, the whole of the Isle of Wight, and the manor of Christchurch. Of this fact there can be no doubt, and a charter of the first of John sets forth that the match was made with the consent of the king; but sir Richard Worsley, who prints this charter as a foot-note, page 55, falls into the error of all his predecessors, in making Johanna the widow of William Briewer the younger, lord of Torbay. As I have proved in my paper on the earls of Kent, which I had the honour of reading at the Rochester Congress, that this was impossible, William Briewer the younger not having died till 1232, I will not go over the ground again on this occasion: but merely remark, that the error appears to have its rise in the *Book of Ford Abbey*, which I have already shown you is more than a questionable authority. It does not appear that either Hubert de Burgh or his wife Johanna exercised any rights as lord or lady of the Isle of Wight, notwithstanding the gift of the whole island; but in the sixth of John, we find William de Vernon giving five hundred marks to be repossessed of his castle at Plympton, which he had given to his other daughter Mary, and other estates, and to have permission to govern his tenants by military service, and others in the Isle of Wight according to the law of the land, and the judgment of his court; and there is no proof that, at the time of De Burgh's death, he was in possession of Christchurch, nor any of the lands given to him with the earl of Devon's daughter.

William de Vernon was succeeded by his grandson BALDWIN, third of that name, sixth earl of Devon and ninth lord of the island, his son Baldwin, who married Margaret, daughter of Waryn Fitz Gerald, having died in his father's lifetime. This is the Baldwin, son of William earl of Devon,

whose body is buried at Christchurch. He was the third Baldwin de Redvers, not the second, as Warner states, the second Baldwin being his cousin, the son of Richard and Dyonissia; but as Baldwin the son of William died *vitū patris*, his son Baldwin, who succeeded his grandfather, was the third earl of Devon of that name. But sir Richard Worsley, although he states this fact, introduces another Baldwin, whom he calls the third, and says he died soon after his grandfather, making the Baldwin who married Amicia de Clare the great-grandson of William. Sir Richard admits that in the succession from William there are seeming contradictions and difficulties, not easily reconciled; but only says that his account is "collected from the most careful examination". It would have been more satisfactory had he quoted some authority in support of his assertion, which, as far as I can see, appears utterly without foundation.¹ Surely the Fine Roll of the eleventh of Henry III, 1227, is decisive on this point. It states that Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, gives 2000 marks to the king for the marriage of his eldest daughter to Baldwin, *son of Baldwin de Redvers, son of William de Redvers*, earl of Devonshire. This Baldwin being an infant at the time of the death of his grandfather, earl William, in 1216, his wardship was granted first to Fulk de Breaute,² whom his mother Margaret had been compelled to marry, and after the banishment of that famous, or rather infamous, person, to Richard earl of Cornwall, through whose influence he was in 1227 married, or perhaps only contracted, to Amicia de Clare. In 1235, we hear of the birth of their son Baldwin; and in 1237, of their daughter Isabella. At Christmas, 1240 (twenty-fourth of Henry III) the king holding his court at Winchester, earl Baldwin, still a handsome young man, "*juvenem elegantem*", was girt with the belt of knighthood,

¹ Having, by the courtesy of Mr. Hearn of Newport, to whose keeping the Oglander MSS. have been entrusted, been permitted to inspect them, I have no doubt that many of the errors in sir R. Worsley's account of the lords of the Island are to be attributed to his implicit reliance upon sir J. Oglander's dates, which, as I have already observed, are for the most part incorrect, and all unvouched for. As far as regards the gossip of his own day, and the facts within his own knowledge, sir John's memoranda may be read with interest and quoted with some confidence; but for the early history of the Island, they are not to be depended upon when unsupported by other testimony.

² This turbulent baron's name is ordinarily, but incorrectly, spelt *Breante*; but in all cotemporary documents it is written *Breaute* or *Brealte*. Carte is the only modern historian who has retained the proper name. (Vide appendix to 1st Report of Commissioners on Public Records, vol. i, p. 189.)

and invested with the earldom of the Isle of Wight, by favour of Richard earl of Cornwall, whose ward he had been for several years; and only five years afterwards, A.D. 1245 (twenty-ninth of Henry III), the day after St. Valentine's, he died, still in the flower of his age—"Adolescens primæ indolis, miles elegantissimus."³ His son Baldwin was at the time of his father's decease only ten years of age, Henricus de Wengham having custody of all his lands, and the marriage of his heirs. This Baldwin is in various rolls of the period called "Baldwinus de Insula", and "comes", or "comitis Devonix" and also "Baldwinus de Ripariis"; but not "Dominus de Insulæ", the lordship of the island forming part of the dower of his mother AMICIA DE CLARE, who exercised the rights of it to the day of her death, twelfth of Edward I, 1283. Therefore Baldwin the fourth, although seventh earl of Devon, cannot properly be placed amongst the lords of the Isle of Wight. He married Avicia of Savoy, a kinswoman of Eleanor, queen of Henry III, and died in 1262 (of poison, as it is reported, given to him at the table of Peter de Savoy, earl of Richmond), aged only twenty-seven; and his son John having died *vita patris* at ten years of age, the succession devolved upon

ISABELLA DE FORTIBUS, countess of Albemarle, daughter of Baldwin third earl of Devon and Amicia de Clare; heiress to all the estates and honours of her brothers, and who obtained possession of the lordship of the Isle of Wight and other lands of her inheritance on the death of Amicia her mother, as above mentioned. Isabella, as I have already stated, was born in 1237. She had married William de Fortibus, earl of Aumerle or Albemarle, who died at Amiens in 1260, and who therefore, by the way, could never have been earl of Devon, as he has been called, Baldwin the fourth earl of Devon not dying till 1262. On one of her seals, engraved by sir Richard Worsley, plate 3, she is styled "Isabella de Fortibus, comitissa Devonix et Insulæ." Another seal, engraved on the same plate, represents the coat of Albemarle dimidiated with her own of Redvers: but Mr. F. J. Baigent, of Winchester, to whose zeal and intelligence the Association has been so frequently and so deeply indebted, has kindly procured me an impression from a seal (see plate 17, fig. 3) to a deed executed by Isabella in the last year of her life, 1293

³ Matthew of Westminster, p. 196. Matthew Paris, p. 639.

(the twenty-first of Edward I), which has not to my knowledge been hitherto engraved, and which possesses a peculiar claim on our interest, from the following curious fact. In the first year of the reign of king Edward I, 1272 or 3, Robert Ragolf, servant to the countess of Albemarle, declared before the treasury and barons of the exchequer that he had lost the great seal of the countess in Westcheap; and proclamation was consequently made in the courts of exchequer, chancery, and the great hall, that any deed sealed with it, either by Christian or Jew, should be void. Sir Richard Worsley, who recounts this circumstance, observes: "It seems as if the seal was never found, or at least not restored to the owner; as bishop Nicholson informs us he had seen a grant,¹ concluding with these words: 'In testimony whereof I have sealed this writing with my new seal, my former one being lost'." The date of the deed to which the seal is appended, examined by Mr. Baigent, leads us safely, I think, to the conclusion that the impression is from the new seal. The inscription round it appears to be, "Non caret effectu quod voluere duo." The shield exhibits, as in the earlier seal, the arms of Aumerle and Redvers dimidiated; but it is placed upon an eagle, the head and pinions of which are observable above it, and on each side is the figure of a dragon. Mr. Baigent informs me that he has seen another deed, some ten years earlier in date, sealed with the same seal, of the existence of which sir Richard Worsley does not seem to have been aware. Its production at the present moment is particularly fortunate, and, to the local antiquary especially, few things could be more welcome than the discovery of an unedited seal of this most celebrated "Lady of the Island".

I will hasten now to conclude a paper, which, from the peculiar nature of its subject, can afford, whatever may be its value to the genealogist or historian, but little entertainment to a general audience.

From Isabella de Fortibus, the history of the lords and ladies of the Isle of Wight is sufficiently clear. Her vast possessions passed, with her only surviving child Aveline, to Edmund Crouchback, earl of Lancaster, with the exception of this island, which she conveyed to Edward I, upon her death-bed, by deed dated at Stockwell near

¹ "Dated", as quoted by sir Richard, "in 1247": an evident misprint for 1274, the year after the loss of the seal.

Lambeth, on the Monday before the feast of St. Martin, A.D. 1293,¹ for the sum of six thousand marks, or four thousand pounds sterling, equal to upwards of sixty thousand pounds at the present day; and that monarch having thus obtained the lordship of the island for ever, it was thenceforth rarely granted, except, for life or during pleasure, to such as the king delighted to honour; for though Edward II, in 1307, bestowed it on his favourite PIERS GAVESTON, EARL OF CORNWALL, "his wife and the heirs of his body", he resumed the grant the following year, on the remonstrances of his nobility, and conferred it on his eldest son,

EDWARD, EARL OF CHESTER, afterwards Edward III, who retained it during the whole of his own reign. Richard II granted it to

WILLIAM DE MONTACUTE, EARL OF SALISBURY, who was also lord of the Isle of Man, and who died in 1397.

EDWARD, EARL OF RUTLAND, duke of Albemarle, and eventually duke of York, was the next lord, and on his death at the battle of Agincourt, October 25th, 1415, his widow, the DUCHESS PHILIPPA OF YORK, obtained a grant of the island, and of the castle and manor of Carisbrooke for her life, which terminated in 1430.

During the lordship of the next grantee, HUMPHREY, called "the good" DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, the extraordinary event took place of the coronation of Henry Beauchamp, duke of Warwick, as "king of the Isle of Wight",



¹ Among other manors ceded to the king by this instrument, was Fawkes' Hall, the ancient residence of Falcasius, Fulk, or Fawkes de Breaute, now known as Vauxhall. The house at Stockwell, where she died, was most probably part of that "royal property".

Henry VI assisting in person at the ceremony, and placing the crown on the duke's head. The foregoing cut represents him in his tabard of arms, with his crown and sceptre, from the original drawing by Rous, in the British Museum. It does not appear, however, that the duke of Warwick, though titular king, ever possessed the lordship of the island, no surrender being made of his rights by the duke of Gloucester, on whose death, 25th of Henry VI, it reverted once more to the crown. Six years afterwards, it was granted to EDMUND DUKE OF SOMERSET, slain at St. Alban's, then to his son

HENRY, DUKE OF SOMERSET, beheaded at Hexham; and the last lord appears to have been

ANTHONY DE WIDEVILLE, LORD SCALES and EARL RIVERS, who obtained a grant from Edward IV, of the island with the castle of Carisbrooke and all the rights pertaining to the lordship, to him and his heirs male; but after the death of Edward, the earl fell a victim to the ambition of Richard, duke of Gloucester and was beheaded at Pontefract castle. His brother, sir Edward, was made captain of the island by Henry VII; and sir Richard Worsley says it is probable that he was lord of it, but there is no positive proof, and since the reign of Henry VII at any rate there has been no royal grant of the island.

Mr. Mew of Lymington has, in addition to the exhibition of the escutcheon of Mellent, sent to us two rings found in the field called Castle-gardens, which he describes as "two signet rings of the De Redvers family, lords of the island and builders of part of Carisbrooke castle." The rings are, however, of a much later date than the last earl of the De Redvers family, being, at the earliest, of the fifteenth century, but nevertheless have their own particular interest. One with a crowned "R" may have belonged to the last lord Wideville, earl Rivers, or to his brother, sir Edward, the captain, though rings with crowned letters are of common occurrence, and generally indicate the initial of the *Christian* name. The other, with the griffin segreant, might also have belonged to either, if it be true that the Widevilles sometimes displayed the old badge of the De Redvers; but there is also a crest of a demi-griffin, and I am rather inclined to think it the arms of a German family.

Here then let me terminate the few observations I have thought it necessary to make on a small portion of the work of sir Richard Worsley, by expressing a hope that in calling your attention to a few inaccuracies, you will not imagine that I would in the slightest degree undervalue the labours of that respected antiquary. Great are our obligations to any writer who first puts into form the chaotic elements of a local history. It is an easy task in after time and by a better light to discover an occasional error; but it is an Herculean one to collect and arrange the original materials and produce a volume which, criticise it as you may, must always be of the greatest importance to the inquirer into the annals and antiquities of this sea-girt garden of England.

ON THE RELICS OF CHARLES I.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., HON. SEC.

THE name of Charles I and Carisbrooke are for ever indivisibly united. Look where we will there is something to remind us of the ill-fated monarch, something to recall his noble form and melancholy visage to the "mind's eye". There stands the moss-grown, ivy-mantled walls, within which he was incarcerated; the ramparts round which he often paced, brooding over his misfortunes, and laying plans for future action; the castle-yard, in which was situate the bowling-green where he beguiled the tedious hours of his imprisonment; the chamber where he slept; the iron-grated window through which he made futile efforts to escape, and beneath which lurked the wily Edmund Rolph, with murderous intent upon the life of his royal master.¹ These and various other reminiscences crowd upon us, as we gaze upon the once stronghold of the Norman lord Fitz-Osborne, the De Rivers, and the lady

¹ In the *Life of William Lilly, written by Himself*, he states, when speaking of the attempted escape of the king from Carisbrooke, "I got G. Farmer (who was a most ingenious locksmith, and dwelt in Bow-lane) to make a saw to cut the iron bars in sunder (I mean, to saw them), and aqua fortis besides."

de Fortibus, but whose fame and deeds sink into oblivion before the recollection of the captive Charles. And if we turn from Carisbrooke to Newport, there is the old room in the grammar school, whose walls once echoed the voice of the king, Hollis, Glyn, and Vane, when the parliamentary commissioners held their forty days' conference, and secretly resolved upon the monarch's death. And there, too, but recently, stood the ancient church where the young princess Elizabeth's remains were laid, after her eighteen months' confinement in Carisbrooke, and where, according to the whisper of the time, she died by poison.¹ Surely, then, whilst we hold our Congress at a spot so teeming with recollections of the closing months of the earthly career of the unhappy king, it is a fitting time to recount the relics and mementoes, which have been preserved with almost pious care, of "England's royal martyr".

Let us, then, begin with those most intimately connected with his thirteen months' captivity in the castle. The late T. Crofton Croker, esq., possessed a very beautiful cap, which is said to have belonged to Charles I. It is made of crimson velvet, richly embroidered with gold and silver thread, and in form closely resembles what the heralds denominate a cap of maintenance. The history received with this cap, set forth that it was worn by the king when he attempted to escape from Carisbrooke, and that it fell out of his window, beneath which it was picked up by a gentleman named Lee, a member of a Hampshire family, whose last descendant, an old lady, gave "king Charles's wishing cap", as she called it, to a clergyman of Winchester, who, not prizing such relics, gave it to the Piers family, one of whom, O. Barrington Piers, of the Admiralty, presented it, in 1828, to Mr. Croker. It is now, I believe, the property of Mr. Robinson, of Marlborough house.

¹ The general belief is that the princess really died of grief. Her coffin was discovered in 1793; it was of lead, inscribed "*Elizabeth, 2nd daughter of ye late king Charles, decess. Sept. 8th, MDCL.*" The spot was originally marked by a small stone, bearing the initials E. S.; but soon after the discovery of the coffin, a small brass plate, with a brief inscription, was placed over the vault, inlaid in the floor of the church, just within the screen. Is there any truth in the report that the remains of the princess were removed from the church a few years back? The contents of the coffin were certainly exposed; and Mr. Pettigrew assures me, from a report of the examination he has seen, that the bones of the entire skeleton demonstrated the princess to have been afflicted with rickets in a very high degree.

Another relic, connected with the Isle of Wight, is the head of the cane which king Charles gave to a person named Cooke, who was master-gunner of the castle whilst the monarch was at Carisbrooke. It is of ivory, about two and a half inches long, decorated with piquet work of silver; the globose top unscrews and forms a pouncet-box or scent-vessel. It is still in the possession of the descendants of the party who received it from the king. An engraving of this relic is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January 1846, page 28.¹

Our late lamented president, Ralph Bernal, esq., had a large silver watch, made by Richard Bowen of London, which is said to have been given to colonel Hammond by Charles whilst at Carisbrooke. It has two cases, the outer one chased and engraved with a border of flowers, and a figure of the king praying. On the back of the inner case is engraved another praying figure of a man in a gown, with the Saviour above, and the following legend in a scroll: "*And what I sai to you, I sai unto all, watch.*"

When Charles was being removed from Carisbrooke to Hurst castle, on November 30th, 1647, he gave Mr. Worsley, who had risked his life for him, his watch, saying—"This is all my gratitude has to give"; and which watch is still preserved in the family. It is of silver, of rather large size, and an inch in thickness; it works with cat-gut instead of a chain; the face and back of the inner case are very richly engraved. It is a repeater watch, and has nineteen openings in the outer case for the escape of the sound. It has the maker's name "*Johannes Bages, Londini, fecit.*"²

From Hurst castle the king was brought by colonel Harrison to Windsor, whence, after a short sojourn, he was removed to London, and lodged in St. James's; and the next relic of which we find a record is connected with his arraignment in Westminster hall, January 20th, 1648. Sir Philip Warwick says that at the trial, whilst his majesty "was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had a head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden: he took

¹ By the kindness of the rev. Allan Wallace this relic was exhibited at the Congress.

² This watch was exhibited to the Congress when at Shorwell, at the residence of Miss Worsley, to whom it now belongs.

it up, but seemed unconcerned; yet told the bishop (Juxon) it really made a great impression on him; 'and to this hour', says he, 'I know not possibly how it should come'." A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1786, page 1050, states that this identical cane, or staff, as sir Philip terms it, was in the possession of a lady residing at Worcester.

The trial of Charles terminated on the 27th of January; and it is between this date and that of his decapitation, three days after, that his relics thicken upon us. During the trial, the king was lodged at Cotton house, near the west end of Westminster hall: when it was finished, he slept at Whitehall, and the day following was removed to St. James's, where, on Monday the 29th, the final interview took place between the monarch and his two children, the princess Elizabeth and the young duke of Gloucester, when it is stated he gave to his daughter two seals adorned with jewels. Sir William Dugdale, in his *Short View of the Late Troubles*, page 382, informs us that at night the king gave to Mr. Herbert, for the duke of York, "his large ring sun-dial of silver, which his majesty much valued, it having been invented and made by Monsieur de la Main, an able mathematician; and who, in a little printed book, hath shewed its excellent use for resolving many questions in arithmetick, and other rare operations in the mathematicks to be wrought by it."

The counterpane which covered the bed in which his majesty slept on the 29th of January, and which is made of a very thick rich blue satin, embroidered with gold and silver, in a deep border, has continued to be used by the family of Champneys, of Orchardleigh, near Frome, Somersetshire, as a christening mantle, from the period it came into their possession, by marriage with the sole heiress of the Chandlers, of Camm's hall, near Fareham, in Hampshire, a family connected with Cromwell.

When the king rose on the fatal morning of the 30th of January, he said to his faithful attendant, Mr. Herbert, "Herbert, this is my second marriage day; I will be as trim to-day as may be; for, before night, I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." He then appointed what clothes he would wear: "Let me have a shirt more than ordinary", said the king, "by reason the season is so sharp

as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death; death is not terrible to me: I bless God I am prepared."¹

From St. James's, the king was conducted on foot through the park; and, on his way, gave to Mr. Herbert a large and curious silver clock-watch, made by Edward East, of London, which had been constantly used by him, and hung at his bed-side. This interesting relic has been in the family of W. Townley Mitford, esq., of Pitt's hill, Sussex, for more than a century, having come from a lady named Howell, who married into the Mitford family.

And now we have to refer to some of the most interesting and affecting relics which have been preserved of the unhappy monarch. The prayer-book which he used while on the scaffold was sold by Mr. Thomas, of King-street, Covent-garden, in 1825. It is a folio, deficient of the title-page; but the title-page of the Psalter says—"Imprinted by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majestie, by the assignees of John Bill, 1634." And on this page is "*Carolus R.*" in the king's own handwriting. The book is bound in purple Russia, with gold tooling, among which appear what are supposed to be the arms of the elector palatine, impaling those of his wife the princess Elizabeth, the king's sister. Some confusion seems to exist respecting the pedigree of this relic: the presbytery of Dumfries declared that it had been stolen from their library; but they did not attempt to make good their claim, and the work was knocked down to Mr. Slater for one hundred guineas.

To Mr. John Ashburnham, who had contrived the escape from Hampton court in November 1646, and who attended him in his last moments, the king gave his large watch, which he wore about him.² And to the good and pious bishop Juxon he presented the jewel called *the George*, pronouncing at the same time the word "*Remember*". This gift was carefully preserved by the bishop; at whose death it passed into the possession of his niece Elizabeth Juxon,

¹ Anthony Wood's memoir of Thomas Herbert, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii, p. 701.

² In the Great Industrial Exhibition, held in Dublin in 1853, there was shown, by Mr. H. Roe, a watch, said to have been worn by Charles I on the day of his death, and to have been presented to the ancestor of colonel Pratt, of Cabra castle, by Oliver Cromwell.

who married James St. Amand, esq., of Covent-garden, whose daughter Martha became the wife of Thomas Hesketh, esq., of Rufford, in the county of Lancaster, which lady was the maternal ancestress of the late sir George Chetwynd, bart. I have been unable to trace the descent of the jewel from this period.

Previous to the king giving away his *George*, "he asked the bishop for his cap, which, when he had put on, he said to the executioner, 'Does my hair trouble you?' who desiring it might be all put under his cap, it was put up by the bishop and the executioner." A nightcap of white quilted satin, believed to be the one here mentioned, was some years back in the possession of lord Crewe, who purchased it from a former proprietor for the sum of £70. On June 28th, 1853, it was sold at Puttick and Simpson's to the late Mr. Crofton Croker; at the dispersion of whose collection by the same parties, on December 22nd, 1854, it was knocked down for £3 : 15.

After the decapitation of the king, Mr. Ashburnham obtained possession of his shirt with ruffled wrists, his white silk drawers, and the sheet which was thrown over the royal corpse. These relics, together with the watch before mentioned, were carefully preserved at Wick-Risington, near Stow-on-the-Wold, Gloucestershire, for some years. In 1743, they were bequeathed to the clerk of the parish of Ashburnham, Sussex, and his successors for ever, to be kept in the church; in the chancel of which they are now exhibited, in a glass case lined with red velvet. There are traces of blood upon the shirt, and the sheet is almost entirely covered with it, and which has now become nearly black.

In the *Confession of Richard Branden the Hangman*, 4to, 1649, who is believed to have been the king's executioner, it is stated that "he had an orange stuck full of cloves, and a handkerchief out of the king's pocket"; and that "as soon as he was off the scaffold, he was proffered twenty shillings for that orange, by a gentleman in Whitehall, but refused the same, but afterwards sold it for ten shillings in Rosemary-lane", where he lived and died June 20th, 1649. Branden does not tell us in this *Confession* what became of the king's handkerchief; but, in a number of the *Bath Herald* of 1837, it is stated that a silversmith of

that city had then in his possession the pocket handkerchief used by Charles I at the time of his decapitation. It was purchased at the sale of effects of the late Mr. W. M. Pitt, of Dorchester, is of white cambric of very fine texture, and is neatly marked with a crown and the initials c. r. With it are the following certificates: "This was king Charles the First's Handkerchief, that he had on the scaffold when he was Beheaded, January y^e 30th, 1648. From my cousin, Anne Foyle, 1733." "Certificate by me, July 25th, 1828—W. M. Pitt. As to the authenticity of the fact, I can only state that I was informed by my father, that Mrs. Anne Foyle was a cousin of his mother, whose father was much attached to the cause of the king, was present at his death, and obtained by some means or other this handkerchief: from her father she obtained it, and she gave it to my grandmother, Lora Pitt, as is stated on the cover herein inclosed; the endorsement was written ninety years after the event took place, and my grandmother was born in the reign of Charles II. I myself know that that endorsement is in the hand-writing of my grandmother, and who evidently believed the above to be true; and this I certify ninety years also after the writing of that endorsement by my grandmother."

Tradition has affiliated another handkerchief to Charles I, which is described as of small size, made of cambric, embroidered round the edges with thistles, and marked at one corner with a crown. It is stained with numerous spots of blood, some as large as a dollar. This relic is said to have been obtained by John Fenwicke, a major of cavalry in Cromwell's army, and in that capacity required to be present at the monarch's death. From his family it passed to Jacob Lyell, whose wife emigrated to New Jersey, near the close of the seventeenth century, and who was connected with the Fenwicks. She gave it to her daughters, and at their death it passed into another branch of the family, and finally into the possession of a Mr. E. B. Thompson, a compositor in the office of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. Without presuming to decide whether this or indeed either of the handkerchiefs be genuine relics of king Charles, we may observe that it is quite possible that he had two handkerchiefs about him on the fatal scaffold.

Before we quit the scene of this sad tragedy, it may be

well to observe that great numbers of persons attempted to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood of their decapitated prince, and which they carried away as precious relics of a blessed martyr.

Soon after the king's death, much of his flowing hair was cut off by those who had charge of the royal remains, and this fact is attested by the appearance of the head when discovered in April 1813. Sir Henry Halford, bart., in his account of the opening of king Charles's coffin, states, "The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and in appearance nearly black. A portion of it which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark-brown colour. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head it was not more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy king." The latter supposition is doubtlessly the correct one, for much of the monarch's hair is known to have been preserved by the royalists of the period and their descendants.

Pieces of king Charles's hair were worn by the royalists in little silver locketts engraved with appropriate mottoes and devices. These mortuary badges are generally in the form of a heart, made to open like a box, with a ring at top for suspension. They bear on the lid a weeping eye, and the words "*Quis temperet a lacrymis, January 30th, 1648,*" or a skull with a coronet upon the top and resting on a crown with the initials "C. R., *January 30th, 1648.*" On the under side, a heart pierced with two arrows, and the motto, "*I live and dy in loyaltie.*" On the inside of the lid, "*Prepared be to follow me, C. R.*" And on the bottom of the box a profile of the king, sometimes in low relief upon an oval of black enamel.

Some of king Charles's hair has been preserved in a remarkable manner. The late Oliver Cromwell, esq., of Cheshunt park, possessed a very beautiful miniature painting of Charles I, the hair of which is wrought in needlework, as family tradition declares with the hair of the murdered monarch. And in the collection of Robert Anstice, esq., of Bridgwater, sold at Sotheby's, March 23rd, 1846, was a small profile of king Charles, in needlework, said to have

been wrought by one of his daughters, and the hair of which was reputed to be from the monarch's head.¹

Robert Porrett, esq., F.S.A., exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on May 13th, 1841, a small pocket volume of "*Les Heures royales, dédiées au Roy*," Paris, 1657; the binding of which is covered with a fabric composed of human hair (in copious quantity) interwoven with gold and silver thread: at the side are several ornamental knots and two flaming hearts, with the initials L. F. It formerly belonged to Cosway, the royal academician, by whom it was given to Thomas Mortimer, esq., author of the *British Plutarch* (Mr. Porrett's maternal grandfather), and a tradition attends it that the hair was that of king Charles I, and the book presented by his widow, Henrietta Maria, to her son, Charles II.

The rings worn by the royalists after the death of their prince may be regarded as some of the most interesting memorials of his unhappy fate. Horace Walpole possessed what he states in his *Catalogue*, p. 31, to be "One of the only seven mourning rings given at the burial of Charles I." It is gold, with an oval enamel bearing on the front a full-faced bust of the monarch, and on the back a skull between the letters C. R., and the motto, "*Prepared be to follow me.*" This precious relic was presented to Walpole by lady Murray Elliot; formed lot 59 of the fifteen days' sale of the Strawberry-hill collection, and was purchased by Harvey of Regent-street for £15: 15.

In the Doucean Museum, at Goodrich court, is preserved a small portrait of Charles I, for a ring, and the skull and cross-bones to accompany it.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September 1788, pl. 3, fig. 2, p. 769, is engraved a mortuary seal-ring of Charles I. The matrix turns on a swivel within the circular rim, so that both sides may be used at pleasure. On one side is a profile of the monarch, and on the other a skull, above which is a celestial crown and beneath the royal crown, and round it the motto, "*Gloria Vanitas.*" On the inside of the hoop is inscribed, "*Emigravit Gloria Angl. Ja. The 30, 1648.*"

¹ This profile, which is executed with great ability, was exhibited to the Association by lady Fellows, who now possesses it. It is, however, entirely of silk, none of the deceased monarch's hair entering into its composition. The princess Mary was stated to have made this interesting portrait.

The ring and seal are both of pale-coloured gold. The writer in the *Magazine* states that only twelve of such rings were made, and that only three were then to be found in England, one of which was in the possession of his grace the duke of Northumberland.

A mortuary ring, which originally belonged to the royalist John Giffard, esq., of Brightley, Devon, is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July 1823, p. 36. It is said to be made of pure gold, with four diamonds set on the top, which, when raised, is found to have beneath it a very beautiful miniature of Charles I, enamelled on a turquoise ; the size of the painting not exceeding the fourth part of an inch. In the September number of the same year, at page 207, another very curious mortuary ring is mentioned. It is described as of pure gold, with an oval of white enamel on the top, about half an inch long, divided into four compartments, in each of which is painted one of the four cardinal virtues, of the most minute size. This oval opens with a spring, and exhibits an enamelled miniature of the king. Within the lid is enamelled, on a dark ground, a skull and cross bones. Another of these curious mortuary box-rings (if they may so be termed) is brought under notice by a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for November 1842, page 479. He states that the hoop is of fine gold, enamelled black, set with a small miniature, in enamel, of the king, inclosed in a box of crystal, which opens with a spring. At the back of the box is a piece of white enamel, bearing a skull surmounted by a crown, and having the date, *Jan^r 30*, inscribed on it in black.

Of all the memorials of the unfortunate Charles I, none have gained such a notoriety as the knives with handles believed to have been cast of the metal which formed the equestrian statue now standing at Charing-cross. This noble statue, the work of the famous Hubert Le Sœur, was, according to Walpole, cast in a spot of ground near the church in Covent garden, in 1633, and not being erected before the commencement of the civil war, was sold by the parliament to John Rivet, a brazier, living at the sign of the Dial, near Holborn conduit, with strict orders to break it in pieces. But Rivet, instead of destroying, only concealed the horse and rider underground till the restoration ; producing, however, some fragments of old brass, and a

number of knives, the hafts of which he declared were made of the identical metal of which the statue was composed. Both royalists and republicans eagerly possessed themselves of these knives, the former out of affection for their murdered master, the others as a badge of the triumph of their party.

The foregoing are among the most interesting and important of the king Charles's relics of which any record is to be found. It would, however, be an easy matter to extend this *Catalogue Raisonné* to a much greater length, but it has been purposely confined to those memorials which have a special reference to the more prominent events of the last years of the monarch's reign. And what a train of thought does their recital evoke. They lead us step by step through many a sad and trying scene; from the king's arrival at Carisbrooke, in November 1646, until his earthly pilgrimage closed upon the scaffold of Whitehall, some fifteen months afterwards. They awaken the recollection of many a restless spirit of that restless age. Prince and plebeian, friend and foe, the gay cavalier, the gloomy roundhead, seem to be resuscitated. The bold Hampden, the eloquent Wentworth, the inflexible Cromwell, the vacillating Pembroke, the meek and pious Juxon, the fierce and fiery Peters, the heroic Worcester, the craven Wharton, the courtly Holland, the insolent Bradshaw, the ungrateful Mildmay, the faithful Herbert, one and all stand as it were before us as warning witnesses against the vices, sins and errors of that stormy age; and bid us exult with thankful joy that we live under the sway of one whose worth and virtue shed a blessing on our land, and for whom every breast glows with affection, every heart beats with devoted loyalty.

P.S.—Since the delivery of the preceding paper, Mr. Pettigrew has received a letter from Mrs. Roebuck, in which she communicates intelligence of other relics of Charles I. Her great grandmother was married to her second husband, sir Thomas Herbert, and at Worsborough hall, Yorkshire, are preserved the sheets in which Charles slept the night previous to his execution. They are marked with his mother's A., and a crown—Anne of Denmark. There are also at this place the footstool on which he knelt,

and two plain walnut presses inlaid with ebony. One is a long box, used at that time for holding clothes, the other a cabinet on long legs. Mrs. Roebuck further states that Mr. Francis Edmunds, her great uncle, having married an Offley, the family had many curious relics, and as her late cousin, Mr. Bennett Martin, was fond of preserving them, it is probable they are still to be found.

ON THE JEWISH EXODUS, AS ILLUSTRATED BY CERTAIN EGYPTIAN PAPYRI.

BY THE REV. D. I. HEATH, M.A.

THE translation of the highly interesting papyri to which I am about to direct your attention, has only been effected within the present year, and the subject, therefore, laid open to us in their contents is an entirely new one. The Egyptian language has had to maintain a long and difficult siege; and the papyri, like the Russians, are, in fact, only just beginning to yield to the attack. Our predecessors in the general field have been forming their batteries for some thirty years, in the shape of grammars and dictionaries; and your treasurer (Mr. Pettigrew), in particular, has valiantly led the way in one division of the trenches, and has had many a tussel with the mummies; but a younger generation will reap the substantial fruit of all these labours.

The first result worth speaking of in Egyptian research, was the capture of the mythological Mamelon, *The Book of the Dead*,—a huge mound, dominating over the religious instincts of half the then civilized world; and, when captured, found to be full of dead men's bones. Into the vastly important subject, however, of the religious instincts of civilized antiquity, and the way in which these were misdirected and stifled by the predecessors of Moses, who was himself learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, it is not my intention at present to enter. Time would totally fail me for such a purpose.

The next result we have acquired by the determined

use of hieroglyphic weapons, is a most valuable and interesting amount of authentic history and chronology, leading us far upwards in the early history of mankind; and with this striking result, that, however far back we find ourselves, man was still highly civilized, and more especially was he always an architectural adept: thus affording a curious support to the inspired representation of Moses, who, in the book of Genesis, makes even Cain a builder of cities. But the subject of history and chronology would take me a still longer time than even that of religion: I hasten, therefore, to the more limited field in which I have myself laboured; I mean that of Egyptian politics in the comparatively quite modern period of the Exodus. For the general description of the thirteen hieratic papyri so handsomely published by the British Museum, and from which all our latest results are drawn, I refer elsewhere.¹ Would that other nations, who boast of more attention to learning than ourselves, would follow our example in their use of such documents. The papyri of Berlin, Paris, Leyden, and Turin,² are still practically kept back from those who might unriddle them: the treasures of knowledge they contain are vast in value and quantity.

Of our thirteen published papyri, five illustrate more or less the Exodus. Your time is valuable, and I proceed at once to point out the few features in the illustration to which I must confine myself.

By the sixth Anastasi papyrus, then, a good deal of light is thrown upon the circumstances under which the Jews requested to hold a feast in the desert. It is unnecessary that all my own identifications should be accepted in this papyrus. Whether or not the Jews are described—a set of slaves somewhat similarly situated are most clearly described; and if *they* requested a four days' feast, the *illustration* remains the same. The events of the day, the customs of the country, the politics, in fact, of the period, are pourtrayed. It either follows from the papyrus, that these slaves *were* the Jews, or at any rate that the practice was an *ordinary* one, well understood by all the parties concerned.

¹ See the Exodus Papyri, by the rev. D. I. Heath, M.A.; with a Historical and Chronological Introduction, by Miss F. Corboux. 1855, 8vo.

² To the labours of sir G. Wilkinson and the munificence of the duke of Northumberland, Egyptian scholars are indebted for the publication of the "Hieratic Papyrus" at Turin, containing the names of Egyptian kings. Lond., 1851; folio.

I quote from my *Exodus Papyri* (p. 179) the following summary of the events narrated in this papyrus. The very name of Moses, you will observe, appears here as that of the chief cattle owner among these slaves. The papyrus narrates them engaged at—

1. Some hard work at *Tahpanes*, just where we know the Jews were located,—outworks or fortifications, erected under the superintendence of a naval officer.

2. A high Egyptian scribe, named Enna, appears as taking stock, numbering the Aramite population. At the outwork just mentioned, they seem, from some cause with which we are unacquainted, to have been more particularly unruly, and the captain requests Enna to merge their numbers into his general list.

3. The confederate leaders of these people make themselves heard. Their plan seems to have been, to direct the different scattered bands of their people to a central situation, the temple of *Nebt Hotep*.

4. The two women, deputed from two fortifications, appear to have addressed themselves, on this occasion, to Enna himself, and to have attained their first object, viz. leave to direct their steps to the desired rendezvous.

5. The gentlemen and ladies having succeeded in this, they desire that the whole body of their people should move with them. Enna allows it, but addresses a sort of exculpatory report, through his superior, one Kak Jephoi, to the prime minister. He evidently implies that he could not have very well helped himself, and desired to please the people with a good grace. The valuable information is now given us, that the four days' feast (from the first to the fifth probably) of the Aramæan, first month, is the occasion of this movement.

6. Enna openly directs operations, but quietly remarks that it was the naval captain, not himself, who was responsible for the valuable garments, etc., which these people took the opportunity of abstracting from the public stores, to the number of one hundred and seventy-eight, in three different qualities.

7. Arrived, apparently, at the temple of *Nebt Hotep*, greater demands are made. The two military leaders appear with their petition, as well as the female politicians.

8. The local authorities refused this at first. Enna ob-

serves, naturally enough, that the people were useful, and the cattle of Moses too valuable to be lost.

9. Enna strongly urges them to yield, and writes advising Kak Jephoi to interfere in high quarters.

10. All is consequently settled by a formal edict. The people may go.

I then go on to remark, page 181, "The very least that we learn from this is, that the slave population in the Delta were allowed certain days for their national festivals, so that the demand of Moses was nothing unusual or revolutionary. 'The God of the Eberites hath met with us; let us go, we pray thee, three days' journey into the desert, and sacrifice unto the Lord our God, lest he fall upon us with pestilence or the sword.' This was probably done every year, and at the beginning too of the Aramæan year, as our document shows. I imagine, then, that the religious sentiment of the Egyptians themselves, both Mizraimite and Theban, under the usurper, would strongly blame his preventing these national rites in the case of the Jews. They would expect the anger of the Sabaoth to be manifested at the unusual impiety; and while permission in the particular year of the exodus was with difficulty being obtained, the women would give their jewels, etc., as a public and propitiatory demonstration of their sentiments. Whether this letter of Enna's refers to the actual year of the Exodus, I know not; but if nothing further should be found relating to this period, still will this remain, to show how ripe affairs were in the Delta for a grand emigration at this time, and, so far as we yet know, at this time only."

A second subject, already partly alluded to as arising out of this papyrus, viz. that of the spoiling of the Egyptians, is so interesting that I must dwell upon it a little longer. It has, in fact, often been remarked that the morality of this spoiling the Egyptians, in the way in which we have hitherto been accustomed to understand it, is of a very questionable nature: at any rate, a view which puts the transaction in a new light is not unworthy of attention; and whether, I say, those who in this particular papyrus despoiled the Egyptians, were Jews or not, still the *illustration* remains the same. The robes taken out of this one temple of *Nebt Hotep* by the slave people, in this

papyrus, were of three sorts: eighty-seven, sixty-four, and twenty-seven, respectively, of each sort, were taken, amounting altogether to one hundred and seventy-eight in number. They were kept, doubtless, in the temples, as public property, for festival purposes. This despoiling of public property then, specially devoted for use in public worship, is a new feature in the case; and if the Jews, during the actual and allowed use of it, were hostilely pursued by an armed force, the opportunity of returning it was denied. The private gifts, on the other hand, are described as voluntary offerings; and they were doubtless considered by their donors as of a propitiatory nature.

The fact that the Jews worshiped God in the same identical robes which the Egyptians used for the same purpose, is a fact which, in these modern times of often unnecessary discord, we should do well to contemplate. A congregation of Christians considers itself contaminated now-a-days by the optical phenomenon of a certain colour or form in the robes of the minister; and an indifferent character will often pass for respectable, if the rays of light are reflected from his garments in the right shade. Moses took all the forms of his ritual from the heathen Egyptians. Why should we not, in these days, learn at least so much from him as to establish different *classes* of ritual, if need be, for the different sorts of minds and ages in our Church? Better this than for neighbours to be perpetually uncivil on the question of candlesticks, or remit foreigners to an evil futurity for the national custom of incense and holy water.

The next important fact we learn from purely Egyptian sources, as to the events out of which the exodus arose, is that Egypt was at this time in a state of revolution. Ramesses the Great, who had been dead about ten years, was probably the most powerful monarch whom Egypt had ever known. There exist at present more buildings and records of his time than of all the other monarchs of Egypt united. In particular, he had completely subdued the turbulent races of Palestine. His tablet at Beyrout, far up on the Syrian coast, still exists. Ramesses lived to a great age; and his deputy in governing Palestine was one of his sons, named Menepthah. The great people in Palestine who, for five hundred years, had disputed with the

Egyptians the monarchy of lower Egypt, were the Suzim, a race of men cognate in language and affinities to the Assyrians, and therefore to the Jews. This was the powerful race over whom Melchisedec, the friend of Abraham, had formerly held sway, from Damascus to Memphis; and I can prove, but have not yet published the fact, that under Rameses, but tributary, doubtless, to him, they still held Beyrout and the Lebanon ranges, though the Canaanite races were pressing hard upon them from the north, the Amorites on the south, and the Egyptians were their perpetual foes.

Now Rameses and Meneptah died much about the same time. Rameses, the legitimate central authority, was succeeded by his son Seti II, the old playfellow and reputed first cousin of Moses, with whom Moses must have been brought up in the harem, as the adopted son of the sister of Rameses. But if I may trust to divers hints scattered about in these papyri, Seti was unfortunately addicted to a very bad habit in a king as well as in any one else, viz. that of an over-indulgence in the pleasures of the bottle. Rameses, too, having been so old, his son Seti was himself the ordinary age of an English admiral before he came to the throne; and before long the old man found these Suzim, or Palestine races, including the captive Hebrews in lower Egypt, too strong for him. He appointed, whether willingly or not, I cannot say, his nephew, the son of Meneptah (who was also named Meneptah), to succeed his father in the government of Palestine; and he himself solved divers of his difficulties by the ignoble device of retiring for thirteen years into Ethiopia. Now Meneptah I was loyal and vigorous; but the court wits of Seti's party nicknamed even him Meneptah of the land of *Dag*, in allusion to Dagon, the Philistine deity, and to his general care for the interests of his Palestine subjects. Meneptah II, his son, appears to have gone much further. I suspect, to begin with, that he married a Hivite lady named Siseret, instead of patriotically bestowing his affections upon an Egyptian damsel. This half usurper, half lieutenant, of the absent Seti, is the monarch whom Moses bearded in his palace at *On*, or Heliopolis, in lower Egypt.

It is a great thing to have got thus much of insight into the politics of a most interesting period: the credit of it is

solely due to the ingenuity of Miss Corbaux ; but all that I have found at present in the papyri is consistent with these views.

This Meneptah II, surnamed Siptah, seeing the weakness of Seti, felt himself less and less able to curb the inroads of the Palestine party ; he wreaked his spite, therefore, more and more on the poor Jews, who were connected by blood with that party, and whose escape from the country he doubtless foresaw. The double action of the absent legitimate Seti, and the present Meneptah, upon the Jews at this period, explains very well the difficulty of how the Jews are represented as having been greatly oppressed, and yet so well fed from the flesh-pots of Egypt ; for in the fifth Anastasi papyrus we find an actual negotiation going on, not between the Jews and Meneptah, but by an envoy from the absent central authority ; and it is remarkable that an increase of rations in fish, bread, and oil, is promised on the one part, while a failure of the negotiations is at the same time recorded and lamented.

I may also mention a curious, though not a very important, fact with respect to Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the third Aaronic high priest of the Jews after the dissolution of their old Melchisedec priesthood. At the time of the exodus, Aaron was a very old man, Eleazar was probably about fifty, and Phinehas about twenty. Now Meneptah's brother was himself named Phinehas, which is an Egyptian and not a Hebrew name. We possess his statue to this day in the British Museum. What more likely then, than that Eleazar should have named his son after this royal personage ? The fact I say is not very important, but the authenticity of the Mosaic account of the exodus is extremely so, and all these little niceties, which could not have been invented in after times, and which have only come to light from our discovery of hieroglyphic writing, do certainly throw a great additional weight into that side of the balance which was already far the heavier, for the authenticity of the Mosaic account. No such unintentional correspondence could have been introduced into the narrative except by one who had himself taken part in the scenes he so accurately describes.

The identification of Jannes is another point of interest due entirely to our papyri. It will be remembered that in

the epistle to Timothy, St. Paul speaks of Jannes and Jambres who withstood Moses. This is positively all we hitherto knew of him ; for the notice of the Talmud and of a late writer like Pliny cannot go for much. Upon this small foundation the superstructure has been laid that he was a magician. He may have been so for aught I know, but I have the pleasure of saying a good word for him. He was a diligent young man in his youth, and, as a lieutenant, was engaged in transporting three obelisks from the quarries to one of the palaces of Rameses the Great. He rose in consequence, as such industrious men deserve to do, to the rank of captain, and afterwards to that of captain of captains, K.C.B. doubtless among the aristocracy of his day. With respect to his withstanding Moses, I daresay he only conceived he was doing his duty, for in the regency of Menepthah I, we find him reposing in his honours in the responsible situation of governor of the fortress at Heliopolis, the centre of the district in which the Jews were located. An unfortunate erasure of a letter prevents me from proving to the satisfaction of others that I have also found a notice of Jambres as well as Jannes, but I am tolerably confident that I have done so.

Again, the recognition of the name of Balak in these papyri is interesting, on the same grounds as those to which I alluded in the case of Phinehas. It occurs in a mere memorandum, loosely made on the back of a papyrus, and the information is given that on such and such a date a messenger was sent to him by Menepthah I. I must mention that the letter ' k ' is erased from the name Balak, but there can nevertheless be no reasonable doubt with respect to the identification, for the name of his father Zippor is given in full, and also his proper residence in Huzoth.

Having thus briefly glanced at a few of the more prominent results of our papyri, as bearing upon a subject of such general interest as the exodus, I end with the most important particular of all—the sudden death of Pharaoh's son, and the hasty consequent expulsion of a people to keep the feast of "passing the dead". Quoting from my book, page 217, I say, "We now arrive at what I deliberately venture to imagine is the Egyptian way of narrating the two most striking points in the Jewish exodus itself, viz.,

the death of Pharaoh's son, and the eager sending away of the people in consequence:" and I really hope that "philosophy" will not refuse to accept this heathen testimony to a miracle, provided only that sufficient common-sense evidence be at hand to establish it, the proofs being such as are ordinarily received as valid in all cases of human testimony.

The writer in the papyrus begins with a plaintive but really beautiful description of the infancy and youth of some noble child. "When you were a mannikin I was beside you: I bore you on my back: You squalled till it pierced through my ears: I played at horse in dragging: 'Twas then I approached so closely in my heart to a day which I hoped would never become night: When I spoke I was like one reflecting his master, as a chamberlain reflects his master: I built you a becken house of granite—'twas for your country house, and planted with trees on each of its roads: Your farmyards were inside it, with their granaries full of corn, etc., etc." [Here follows a list of agricultural produce in the plaything farm establishment, and some proper moral advice is administered.]

The young gentleman having thus been brought well enough through his teething, his toys, and his theology, is now advanced to field sports; gets compared—for length, I suppose, but not for knowledge—to a roll of papyrus, is good at fencing, and even sees a few neighbouring parts of foreign lands; but, in some apparently mysterious manner, is said to fall on devils, and meets a sudden death. So that if Moses had not written a word about the death of the firstborn of the king on his throne, we should fairly have judged it probable from this papyrus, dated seventy-two days after the probable night of the Passover—the proper interval between death and burial—that a domestic calamity of this kind had befallen this king. The words of the papyrus are—

"Would that I could narrate to you his deeds of action,

"His flowing hair,

"He was brought forward as a youth delighting in bird-catching,

"His head is a peacock in gorgeousness,

"In his youth he is drawn up like a book,

"He is stretched out at fence,

" I wish you could have gone on his trip to the Horite country,

" His tour to the border lands,

" His food and water on his shoulders equalled the burden of an ass,

" He set his neck as firm as a donkey's,

" But he drinks of the waters of bitterness

" Where the fishermen cross,

" He falls upon devils (or strange gods),

" He is like birds for terror,

" But there is no wound on any of his limbs.

" He comes to the land of Ham,

" He is like a bit of wood which worms have eaten,

" He dies. They lift his body,

" He is brought upon an ass,

" His garments held up by the bearers,

" His footman was Enna, the faithful in mouth to please the scribe of men of action. Let me hide myself and be dissolved in seasons of silence. The midday sun, let it not shine. The winter, let it pass into the summer. The months, let them be turned backward. The hours, let them troop in numbers while you pray Amen for your children, that you may obtain those which are in their mother's wombs. Oh for the breath of Amen. Think on Amen. Listen in peace to the sweet airs before Him. Oh that He would grant me to be as the wings of a dove: then would I move off to inquire of the spirits who have arrived at the fields who minister at the lakes of the Midianites, when the country becomes visible."

A new paragraph now contains a similar short address to the deceased youth. " Consider thou Amen. He has brought thy mind into his condition of peace. Thou chauntest among princes, thou art confirmed in the hall of truth. Amen Ra is thy mighty Nile bursting through rocks, lord of fishes innumerable, and of fowl and of youth, lord of sustenance. May the princes at the house of princes, and may the scribe of finance, Kak Jephoi, be at the head, as Thoth, thy justifier."

And after all this comes the royal order to which I have alluded. There are difficulties in it, but the general sense is clear. It alludes again to the taking away the vehicles from the temples; it orders the messenger to make a

special report to his majesty—that is of course to king Seti—concerning the bad affair of the death—the sudden death, namely, doubtless of his nephew's firstborn son just described ; and it orders the departure of the confederate body with food for their journey.

DATA ON TYSILIO'S CHRONICLE,

RELATING TO THE TIME OF ITS PUBLICATION, THE FESTIVAL OF
THE ROUND TABLE, THE ROMANCE "MORT D'ARTHUR,"

ETC., ETC.

MR. WAKEMAN having reopened the questions of Tysilio and Vortigern (see the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for June last, pp. 134-142), the rev. Beale Poste, author of the papers on those subjects at the Chepstow Congress, has requested leave finally to submit the following statistics of the two questions, as essential to show their due and true bearing. The positions assumed therein, he begs to state, are either substantiated by facts, or, where this has not been done, the proofs have been considered sufficiently obvious.

ON TYSILIO.

1. That Geoffrey of Monmouth's translation of Tysilio is correctly shown to have been published in the year 1147, from the following circumstance : his patrons, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, and Robert, duke of Gloucester, both died in that year. He mentions the former as already deceased, in the prologue to his seventh book : in fact, he died the first by about three months ; whilst the other was alive at the time of publication, because he dedicates to him. This point was first noted in Mr. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, vol. ii, p. 144. The date prior to 1139, as in the *Archæologia*, vol. xii, p. 56, may be judged to be only a mistake, arising from circumstances connected

with archbishop Theobald's various journeys on the continent or to Rome in 1139, in 1142, in 1148, and in 1152. The internal evidence, adduced as above, shows that it could not have been on the earliest of these occasions that the work is recorded as met with at Bec in Normandy by Henry archdeacon of Huntingdon, his attendant, as sometimes is supposed.

2. That there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the fact, recorded with some circumstantiality in the *Iolo Manuscripts*, as at pp. 63, 215, 448, and 630, that Rhys ap Tudor, the grandfather of the duke of Gloucester, Geoffrey of Monmouth's patron, established a Festival of the Round Table at Neath in Glamorganshire, as referred to in the former remarks on Tysilio's *Chronicle*.

3. That, in connexion with the foregoing, it is perfectly groundless to say that Walter Mapes was the author, in 1170, of the ancient production called the *Mort d'Arthur*, in which the Round Table is mentioned. On the contrary, Helie de Bourron, who lived in the ensuing century, and completed the kindred romance of *Sir Tristan*, informs us that Walter Mapes only translated it from a previous work. (See again Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, v. ii, p. 304.) The Anglo-Norman poet, Wace, gives testimony to the same effect, who mentions the Round Table in his poems published in 1155, fifteen years before the time specified by Mr. Wakeman. His two verses on this point may be cited, which, besides, seem to show that there were multifarious legends of the Round Table in his time in Britany. They are—

“Fist Artus la roonde table
Dont Breton dient mainte fable.”

So then the legend of the Round Table was known, not only in one, but in many forms, in those days; and yet we have it not in Geoffrey of Monmouth's translation of Tysilio, obviously, it should seem, because it was not in his original. This argument has been alluded to before, in the former observations; but now some few statistics of the case have been supplied.

4. That the Anglo-Norman poet, Gaimar, writing in 1150, three years after the publication of Geoffrey's *Historia Britonum*, is a perfectly unimpeachable witness, and affords

most conclusive evidence on the question of a prior work. Gaimar tells us as follows. He expressly asserts that he was in communication with Raoul Fitz-Gilbert and Constance his wife, and, through them, with the celebrated Walter Espac, an Anglo-Norman baron, who founded the monasteries of Rieval and Kirkham, in Yorkshire; and this person, he notes, was known to, or at least in communication with, Robert duke of Gloucester, Geoffrey of Monmouth's patron, who was son of Henry I, and grandson of the Rhys ap Tudor before spoken of. He also tells us that Nicholas de Trailli, nephew of Walter Espac, was one of his intimates. Gaimar then was in circumstances to be correctly informed; and he acquaints us that there was an original, and that the said duke ordered a translation of it to be made. In so doing, he adds a full and complete confirmation to Geoffrey of Monmouth's own assertion in that behalf in his dedication.

5. That the year in which the *Chronicle* of Tysilio appeared in the form in which it is come down to us, is, as near as can be ascertained, the year 1000 of the Christian era, as has been set forth in the former remarks on the subject; yet, as we find that some of the most popular of the ancient chronicles had several publications, and were continued down from time to time to later dates, so this may have been the case in the present instance. There is an appearance that Tysilio's *Chronicle* originally ended with the great chronological epoch in Cambrian history, of Cadwalader's retirement from the throne, which would have afforded a conclusion of dignity and importance to the narrative. This would make the ending of it about the beginning of the ninth century, as there is a certain period of retrospect introduced after Cadwalader. In proof of these views, the line of kings goes down no lower than Cadwalader, though between Cadwalader and the days of the Saxon Athelstan there were actually several Welsh sovereigns, as Roderic the Great and others of high renown. It may be necessary to make this qualification as to date, as it may rather be thought that there have been two editions of the original.

6. That Tysilio's *History* or *Chronicle* was written in the interest of the Latin Communion, which, after a contest of some centuries with the original British Church, was

established paramount in Cambria in the year 762, by the appointment of Elbodus primate of Gwynedd (see Warrington's *History of Wales*, vol. ii, p. 404); and that the tenor and purpose of it are solely applicable to the state of affairs which existed in that country from the period aforesaid to the Conquest; after which the Norman power came upon the arena.

7. That the *Chronicle* or *History* of Tysilio is not such an account of ancient Britain as would have been suitable to be written either for the Cambrian or Norman interest in the days of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

8. That the *Chronicle* of Tysilio falling into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth, he being in the Norman interest, worked it up as he thought would be best to serve his purpose. This point has been sufficiently adverted to in former remarks, it is therefore only necessary to add that he disparages his countrymen almost in his last paragraph, and gives over his work to the supervision of a Norman prince.

9. That if Geoffrey of Monmouth asserted that he translated from an original when he did not do so, he was not only a forger but a crafty practitioner of that kind; and that any attempt to represent his work as a jocular or conventional forgery is entirely out of the question: nor can any instance be cited in authentic literature, which, when examined in its details, will at all substantiate the point.

DATA ON VORTIGERN.

10. That a comparison of the various texts of Nennius, shews that he had a first and second place of retreat (" iterum abscessit," etc. *Nennius*, c. l.). The first was in the province of Guorthigirnian, where doubtless was the minor, or as we may otherwise call it, the Radnorshire *Caer* Guortigern; and we may view it as one of the smaller fortresses especially provided by this leader. The second is styled the " *Arx* Guortigerni", or citadel of Vortigern (*Nennius*, loco citato); which appears to be the *Caer* Guortigern of the most note, and the one enumerated in a previous passage of Nennius among the twenty-eight principal cities of Britain. It is true that the majority of the manuscripts of Nennius add that this place was on the river

Teibi, in the country of the Demetæ; but the Irish copies, which supply an important text, omit this addition (see Dr. Todd's *Edition of Nennius*, p. 103), as does the manuscript of this author in the Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge (see Stevenson's *Nennius*, p. 38).

11. That if we pass from Nennius to the ancient British Chronicles, the earliest of them, that of Tysilio, names the castle of Goronwy, on the Wye, as the place of Vortigern's death; and that we have nothing to do with the Gonoreu or Gannereu on the river Gania, as mentioned by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a later writer, as the scene of that event.

12. That there is the authority of Owen Pughe for "guoranogon" being a titular appellation, and collaterally the authority of Camden and Langhorne for the term "guorong" being titular likewise, which Owen Pughe does not reject. (See the notes attributed to him in Gunn's *Nennius*, p. 161.) He appears to have considered "guoranogon" and "guorong" tantamount to the terms *viceroi* or *governor*. Supplied, then, with such good authentication, Mr. Poste interprets the term "goronwy" as occurring in Tysilio, as "guorong—Guy", *i.e.*, as *governor* or *commander* on the Wye. However, it may be said that the word "Goronwy" is otherwise found to be frequently used as a proper name. This is true: and so far of course there is some uncertainty. Nevertheless, Vortigern's governor or viceroy in Kent, in the early part of his reign, as mentioned by *Nennius*, being styled according to Owen Pughe as alluded to above, "the guoranogon", induces the belief that his lieutenant on the Wye might be termed his "guorong—Guy" also; or more cursively "Goronwy:" and Vortigern might very naturally have retired to the fortress of this officer in his extremity, to concert measures of defence.

Bury Hill, near Ross, where are the ruins, or rather the foundations of an ancient city, by many believed to be Ariconium, has been supposed in Mr. Poste's former remarks on this topic to have been the "Arx Guortigirni", or Vortigern's citadel, on which he rested his last hopes of resistance, and to have been the "Caer Guortigern" before alluded to, mentioned by Nennius as one of the twenty-eight notable cities of Britain. It is not certainly within the district at present called Erging, or Archenfield, or

Arconfield, as it is sometimes styled, yet it does not follow that it was not in the ancient kingdom of that name; which otherwise its situation, isolated between the extensive forest tract of Dean and Erging, seems to indicate.

NOTES.

Note to p. 56, ante. Archbishop Usher considered that Geoffrey of Monmouth translated from a Welsh manuscript in the Cottonian Library, now burnt. (See his *Primordia*, Lond. edit. p. 31), and it must be admitted that he mentions a point which bears very forcibly on the connexion of that copy with the present text of Tysilio. Whether he be correct or not, it seems highly probable that all three manuscripts, that of Jesus College, that of Guttyn Owain, and that of the Cottonian collection, might have been alike based on a cognate text, and corresponded in their most material features, as the two first do, which are still extant.

Note to p. 57, ante. Mr. Lewis Morris has two letters on the topic of Tysilio and Geoffrey of Monmouth: the first to Mr. Carte, the second to Mr. David Lewis (See *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii, pp. 479-485, and 488-490); also two others to Mr. Edward Richards (vol. i, pp. 337-342, and 348-354), which last can also be referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1789, pp. 902 and 984. There is no trace of any thing uncandid or designing in these letters, as he has most unwarrantably been charged with by one critic. On the contrary, he appears to write in the tone and style of a man who had no idea that the fact of an original formed a legitimate object of doubt.

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 9.

T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were elected associates :

Thomas Jackson, esq., Mount Grove House, Hampstead.

Edward Stephen Lee, esq., 58, Sloane-street.

Alexander Zanzi, esq., 30, Brompton-crescent.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Editor. Gentleman's Magazine for April and May. 8vo.

From the Society. Reports and Papers read at the meetings of the Architectural Societies of the archdeaconry of Northampton, the county of York, etc., during the year 1854. 8vo.

From the Editor. Early English Miscellanies, selected from an inedited MS. of the Fifteenth Century. By J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. 1855. 8vo.

Mr. Crafter exhibited four early Roman coins of bronze. Among them were two examples of the *sextans*, or sixth part of the *as*. 1.—*Obv.*, an escalop shell between two globules : *rev.*, the caduceus of Mercury between two globules. (See *L'Æs Grave del Museo Kircheriano*, by fathers Marchi and Tessieri ; Roma, 1839 : classe I, tavola vi, N. 5.) 2.—*Obv.*, ear of corn : *rev.*, two globules. (Marchi e Tessieri, cl. II, tav. iv, B, N. 2, A.) This type is of considerable rarity, its oval form bringing to mind the *glans*, or sling bullets of the Greeks and Romans. 3.—An *uncia*, or twelfth part of the *as*, bearing on each side the *astragalus* or *talus* (huckle-bone), a club, and a globule. (Marchi e Tessieri, cl. II, tav. v, N. 6.) With these originals, Mr. Crafter laid before the meeting a cast of a large *as*. *Obv.*, a double-faced head : *rev.*, the rostrum navis. (Marchi, cl. I, tav. ii, N. 6.) This is one of a number of pieces said to have been made for the late W. Till, coin dealer, of Russell-street, Covent Garden.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., produced a very large *dupondius*, or double-*as*, from the same *atelier* as Mr. Crafter's *as*. *Obv.*, bust of Pal-las (?), looking to the right ; behind the head two strokes, denoting the value : *rev.*, a wheel of six spokes, within the felly of which are two

strokes. (Marchi e Tessieri, cl. 1, tav. viii, N. 1.) The wheel has been conjectured to be a phonetic symbol of the city whence the piece is supposed to have been issued, and chosen on account of the similitude of the Latin word *rota* to that of *Rutuli*, the people of Rutun, who were conquered by the Romans at an early period, and soon disappear from history. Although no fraudulent intentions are imputed to the late Mr. Till for having these pieces cast, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that they are frequently offered for sale as genuine coins, and that they too often realize exorbitant prices.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., exhibited four Roman coins, from the cabinet of Mrs. White of Mortimer-street: the earliest, two different sized *as*, bearing the double-faced head and the ship's prow. Also an *as*, struck in Sicily by the sons of Pompey the Great. *Obv.*, bifrons of Pompey, above *MGN.*, for Magnus: *rev.*, the rostrum navis, above *PVS*, below *IMP*. This coin is of some rarity, and highly interesting, as containing an almost contemporary portrait of the proud rival of Cæsar. The fourth coin is a *sestertius* of Augustus. *Obv.*, busts of Julius Cæsar and Augustus looking in opposite directions, *IMP. DIVI. F.*; *rev.*, a ship's prow. This coin is like that figured in Mr. Akerman's *Coins of Cities and Princes*, plate xviii, fig. 1, and is of Vienna (Vienne) in Gaul. It is not uncommon.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited drawings of two Roman vessels of terracotta, found about five years since in digging the foundation of a stable in Orchard-place, St. Dunstan's, Canterbury, now in the possession of Mr. F. Flint. One is a *guttus*, of the form so frequently met with in London; the other a *catinus*, of Samian ware, bearing the maker's stamp, *VIDVL FE.*, a name new to our list of Roman potters, the nearest to it hitherto recorded being *Viducos* or *Viducus*.

Mr. W. Meyrick called the attention of the meeting to an exceedingly beautiful steel pommel of a sword, of a date not later than the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth. It is nearly globular, and wrought in open chain-work of large square links richly engraved. It was discovered, about seven years back, at Waltham abbey, Essex.

Mr. G. Wright exhibited, by permission of Mr. W. C. Whelan, a fine example of the lock of a *Tricker firelock*, of the close of the reign of Charles I, which was exhumed, some years back, from the battle-field of Worcester. The rising piece above the pan is furrowed, to facilitate the production of the sparks from the pyrites or flint, and the side-plate stamped with a crowned shield containing the letters ^{DAM}GABRIEL.

Mr. Crafter submitted for inspection a Flemish tobacco-box of the time of William III. It is of brass, of a long oval form, measuring six inches and a half in length and two inches and a quarter in breadth, being rounded at the ends. The top and bottom are both engraved, and represent the visitation of the angel Gabriel to Mary, and the salutation of Elizabeth by the Virgin Mary. The explanatory legends attached to

these representations are too much worn to be distinctly traced, but their meaning is sufficiently obvious.

Mr. Frederick Vallé exhibited a penny of Henry VII, of the York mint, struck after his eighteenth year (1502-3), when the old type of the cross and pellets was abandoned, and the shield charged with the arms of France and England, quarterly, introduced. Found at Swanscombe, Kent, 1855.

Mr. Wakeman forwarded a paper "On the Chronicle of Tysilio and the Territories of Vortigern," in reply to the rev. Beale Poste's observations. (See pp. 134-142 *ante*.)

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read the following paper, and illustrated it by numerous interesting examples :

"ON WATCHES AND WATCH-STANDS.

"There seems every reason to believe that the invention of pocket clocks, or what are now termed watches, may be referred to the last quarter of the fifteenth century; and in all probability the honour of the invention is due to the city of Nuremberg, whose claim is said to reach back to the year 1479. From a sonnet by Gasper Visconti, dated 1494, it appears that watches had by that time found their way into Italy, and Dominico Maria Manni, in his work entitled *Commentarium de Florentinis Inventis*, cap. 29, says that a Florentine named Lorenzo de Vulparia was the first contriver of the little machine. Though other countries may dispute the priority of invention with Germany, the artificers of Nuremberg and Augsburg stood pre-eminent both for the number and quality of the watches they produced.

"It is a common mistake to suppose that all the early watches were large and clumsy in construction; they are frequently far otherwise, being finished off with great care, and of a size which may really be termed very small. They were of such rich design that they were worn as much for ornament as use; some being set with precious stones. It is recorded that the earl of Leicester presented to queen Elizabeth in 1571-2, 'one armet or shakell of golde, all over fairely garnishedd with rubyes and dyamonds, haveing in the closing thearof a clocke:' and in 1580-1, 'a cheyne of golde, made like a payre of beades, contayning 8 long peeces fully garnished with small diamonds, and fowerscore and one smaller pieces, fullie garnished with like diamondes, and hanging thereat a round clocke, fullie garnished with dyamondes, and an appendante of diamondes hanging thereat.'¹

"The makers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries endeavoured to vary the figure of the machine as much as possible: not only round, square, oval, octagon, and cruciform watches occur, but some in such

¹ Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i, p. 294; ii, 300. See also vol. ii, 249, for another clock with diamonds, rubies, etc. These were all presented by the "earle of Leycester", master of the horse.

fanciful shapes as death's heads, shells, acorns, pears, tulips, purses, etc. The oval watches, from being first wrought at Nuremberg, acquired the title of *Nuremberg eggs*. They were constructed without glasses, the cases opening at front and back, and generally engraved with mythological or allegorical subjects, and sometimes, though rarely, with portraits.

"I have now to call the attention of the Association to an oval watch, of the time of James I, which was formerly in the collection of sir Ashton Lever, and purchased at the sale of his museum in 1806. It is without its case, and measures one inch and seven-eighths long, one inch and three-eighths wide, and five-eighths of an inch thick. It is nearly all of brass. The dial is a silver ring, one-eighth of an inch wide, the hours engraved in Roman numerals, with a little stud at the base of each, by which the time can be ascertained in the dark by the touch. The steel hand is in the form of a dart. Above the dial is engraved a figure of Leda and the swan; below, a cherub's head, on each side of which is a fox, and the space between the devices is filled with rich foliage in scrolls. Within the circle of the dial is a view of a river with swans, a bridge, and beyond it houses, trees, fields, hills, and a stag hunt. On the plate at the back is engraved '*R.Dieu : a : Paris.*' The cock which covers the balance-wheel is of rich design. Instead of a chain, this watch has a line of catgut; it has no hair-spring, neither are there any screws used in its construction, circumstances which prove its early date.

"By the close of the reign of Elizabeth, watches had come into pretty general use among the higher classes in England; and allusions to them are not unfrequent in the writings of our old dramatists. Thus, in *Twelfth Night* (Act ii, scene 5), Malvolio says: 'I frown the while, and perchance wind up my watch, or play with some rich jewel.' And in the first scene of the fifth act, the priest exclaims—

———'my watch hath told me, toward my grave
I have travell'd but two hours.'

"Ben Jonson, in his comedy of *The Staple of Newes* (Act i, scene 1), first acted in 1625, makes an extravagant heir draw forth a repeating watch which he sets on the table and waits with restless anxiety the arrival of his majority—

———'t strikes! one, two,
Three, four, five, six. Inough, inough, deare watch,
Thy pulse hath beate inough. Now sleepe and rest;
Would thou couldst make the time to doe so too:
I'll wind thee up no more. The houre is come
So long expected.'

"In Brome's comedy of *The Antipodes*, 1638, one declares with regret that—

———'every clerk can carry
The time of day in his pocket.'

"The English watchmakers had by the reign of Charles I risen to such importance, that in the year 1631 they gained a charter of incorporation, under the name of master, wardens, and fellowship of the art of clock-making of the city of London, and by which charter all foreign clocks, watches, and alarms were forbidden to be brought into the country. David Ramsay, who had been clockmaker to king James I, was appointed the first master; and watches made by him, and by Edward East, David Bouquet, Robert Grinkin, Benjamin Hill, and other early members of the company, are still extant. Some of their watches are round, others oval, for the latter form continued to be occasionally employed till towards the close of the seventeenth century.

"In Hollar's interesting set of plates of the four seasons, dated 1641, the lady representing *Summer*, of which I exhibit an impression, has an egg-shaped watch on her left side depending from her girdle. And our worthy curator, Mr. G. Wright, kindly lays before us a small silver watch, belonging to our associate, Mr. Whelan, of the same form, and but little subsequent in date. The dial is engraved on a flat plate of silver. It has Roman numerals, with a stud at the base of each, similar to the earlier example we have just examined; and the steel hand terminates in a fleur-de-lis. On the plate at the back is engraved the maker's name, '*Philippe Grebay A Londres*,' a formula which bespeaks it the work of a Frenchman. I strongly suspect that the works have been renewed at a comparatively late period, for we find a chain taking the place of the more primitive catgut. The cover is provided with a stout concavo-convex glass set in a steel rim and held in its place by three studs. The key-hole is protected by a crescent-form plate moving on a pivot.

"As a contrast to the last specimen, both in regard to form and size, I beg to submit for inspection a round silver watch with double case, of the time of William III, which measures upwards of two inches in diameter, and one inch and a quarter in thickness. In the centre of the dial-plate is chased a shield with escalop-shell and satyr's head; and on it is engraved the maker's name, '*Wise READING*.' The hours are in Roman numerals, the minutes marked with strokes, with the five minutes distinguished in Arabic numbers on ovals outside the circle of strokes. The figures are engraved on silver filled in with black enamel. The hands are of blued steel. On the back plate is inscribed '*Luke Wise Reading*;' and the cock, etc., are very richly wrought. The English watchmakers of the seventeenth century became so famous in their craft, that lest inferior articles should be sold abroad as English productions, a law was passed in 1698 obliging all makers to put their names on their watches, and this fact may possibly account for the name occupying so conspicuous a place upon our specimen.

"About the year 1770, it became the fashion among the dandies to wear two watches, the chains and seals of which dangled on each side

beneath their embroidered waistcoats. There is an anecdote told of an earl of Bridgewater, that, being near Windsor, he was stopped by a footpad, who, after robbing him of one watch, demanded the other: 'Why do you suppose I have another?' asked his lordship, to which the thief replied, 'I know it; for I observed you crossed your hand to your left fob when you gave me this.'

"We may presume that the foppery of carrying two watches met the approval of the fair sex, who soon, in addition to the real watch which adorned the left side, wore on the right what was called a *fausse montre*, or false watch. The false watches were however in some instances little less costly than the genuine article, being made both of gold and silver; enriched at times with jewels, and enamelled miniatures at the back. The front was filled up in various ways; some had a dial-plate, others a pincushion, and the most expensive ones had stars and devices set with stones, which were made to revolve by means of wheel-work within. Those who could not or would not go to the expense of such costly articles contented themselves with a *fausse montre* of gilt metal or even of coloured foil. And I have here a *fausse montre*, of rich cloth, which once decked the side of a belle at a court festival of king George III, in or about the year 1770. Knowing a little about the *secret history* of this specimen, it may be well to inform you that it is made of a piece of the state costume of lady Chapman, the wife of sir John Chapman, who filled the office of lord mayor of London in the year 1689. The material is cloth of gold brocaded with rosebuds of green and crimson velvet, and surrounded by a pendant from a chain work of golden cord. No doubt before time and dust had shorn this bauble of its pristine lustre, it may have been a very rich-looking article and passed in the gay crowd for an enamelled watch.

"Before quitting this part of the subject, a few words may be permitted regarding *watch papers*, as they are called, but which were as often of silk, velvet, and muslin, as of the material whence they derive their name. The papers were frequently very neatly cut with elaborate designs, sometimes spreading over the whole field, whilst at others a circle or oval was left in the centre, on which was painted a miniature. Whilst I write, I have before me two *watch papers*, executed at the commencement of the reign of George III; the one of white cambric wrought in gold thread with the letters 'G. M. C.' within a double circle of loop chainwork; the other of white muslin, with the initials 'S. G.' in brown hair. Printed watch papers with the head of William, duke of Cumberland, were published in 1746, and some of white and pink satin with the portrait of queen Caroline were common about the year 1821. Perhaps the most famous watch papers were those *printed on the ice* during the frost fair of 1814.

"If some degree of uncertainty still hangs over the early history of the

watch, the history of the *watch-stand* is still more obscure; in fact, it is a perfect blank, and you may seek in vain through the pages of your dictionaries without finding even the bare title of this useful article of furniture. We might well expect that watch-stands were almost coeval with watches; but at present I can discover no earlier evidence of their existence than that afforded by the example now before you, which belongs to about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is of carved oak, eight inches high, and in design much resembles some of the mural monuments of the period. Two scrolls form a sort of pediment above, with an escalop-shell in front. It has side columns with four large flowers surrounding the circular opening for the face of the watch; and the lower part is pointed. At the back is a curved channel to contain the chain, etc., which, when placed in the stand, together with the watch was shut in with a sliding backboard. Immediately behind the shell is a round hole to admit a hook or nail by which the stand was suspended against a wall.

"I have here another watch-stand of carved wood, nine inches and three-quarters high, of German workmanship of the time of Francis I (1745-65). It represents the two-headed eagle, the imperial crown being placed between the necks; a branch of laurel proceeds from the crown and falls on each side of the circular opening in the breast of the bird. The sockets for the wings are still visible, but the wings themselves are gone. The bird stands upon a base of three stages, and the whole is painted in various colours.

"Some of the old watch-stands represented Time, from whose finger the watch depended: others were in the shape of horses, camels, and elephants, with panniers, vases, and temples on their backs; and who has not seen the little models with the watch face appearing in the turret and over the gateway of churches and castles?

"During the last century, the ladies delighted to exercise their ingenuity in building up watch-stands of rock work formed of bits of spar, galena, and coloured glass, garnished with verdant moss, or of shell and seaweed gathered from the ocean's shore by their own fair hands: and of card-board besprinkled with glittering frostings, and decorated with filigree of cut, folded, and twisted paper, rendered still more splendid by the addition of gold and silver spangles. These monuments of misspent industry have long since been banished from the mantel of the drawing-room, and like their authors have well nigh all withered and decayed, victims to the all-devouring jaws of time. But however tempting it may be to linger over these relics of the past, the dial's gnomon bids us wind up the watch, and the warning voice of the poet whispers in our ear that 'time is on the wing'."

MAY 23.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Charles Curle, esq., Parthenon Club,

Jacob Birt, esq., 30, Sussex-gardens,

were elected associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the City Library Committee. A Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders', Tavern and Coffee House Tokens current in the 17th century, presented to the Corporation Library, by H. B. H. Beaufoy. By J. H. Burn. Second edition. 1855. 8vo.

From the Royal Society. Their Proceedings. No. 12. 8vo.

From the Archaeological Institute. Their Journal for March 1855. 8vo.

From G. R. Wright, esq. Engraved portrait of Shakespeare.

Mr. Gibbs exhibited a penny of Canute (1017-35) in fine preservation, discovered two years back in Cornwall. *Obv.* Within an inner circle, profile bust of the king to the left, wearing the conical helmet; with a sceptre in front surmounted with three balls, like that on the coins of his predecessor, Ethelred II, upon whose money the sceptre first appears. *Legend*—CNVT REX AN. *Rev.* Within an inner circle, a voided cross with an annulet in the centre and one between each limb. *Legend*, LEOFFINE ON LEIC (*Leicester*). A mint was established at Leicester as early as the reign of Athelstan. Of the moneyers employed by Canute at this place, there are extant coins struck by Ælfsi, Gunlef, and the before mentioned Leofpine. The latter name also occurs as that of a moneyer on the coins of Harold I and II; not however upon any minted at Leicester, but upon those of Bristol, Norwich, and Thetford.

Mr. Thomas Gunston exhibited a decorative tile, measuring five inches square, found in Shropshire. This rare example appears to belong to the close of the fourteenth century, is made of brown clay, and has the device of a quatrefoil, merely impressed, and then glazed over, the usual method of filling in the design with light-coloured clay being entirely omitted; one portion of the tile is much worn, while the other is in perfect condition.

The same associate also exhibited two early gold coins belonging to the discovery made in 1849 at Whaddon chase, Buckinghamshire. (See *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii, p. 1.) Also silver pennies of the following monarchs—Burgred, king of Mercia: *obv.*, BVRGRED. REX, presenting a rude attempt at the regal portrait; *rev.*, HEREFERD. MONETA, in three lines. This coin is very coarsely alloyed.—Athelstan: *obv.*, ÆDELSTAN. RE. T. BRE, in the centre a small cross; *rev.*, ABBA. MONA. LEGCF

(Chester). (See *Ruding's Annals of the Coinage*, pl. 18.)—Eadred: *obv.*, EADRED . REX. No portrait. *Rev.*, GVDID . MOI. In field, three crosses pattée, with a star of seven dots top and bottom.—Eadgar: *obv.*, + EADGAR . RE; *rev.*, GRID . NO . N'E, in two lines; between the lines three small crosses, also three pellets at top and bottom.—Ethelred II: *obv.*, + EDELRED . REX . ANGLO. Bust to the left. *Rev.*, OSVLF . MO . LVND (London). Long double cross reaching to the edge of the coin; no inner circle.—Canute: *obv.*, + CNVT . REX . ANG. Figure with conical-shaped cap or helmet and sceptre: the drapery on the bust is fastened to the left shoulder by a large circular brooch; *rev.*, FARERA . M'O . EOFF (York). Within the inner circle a double cross with a pellet in the centre and angles.—Edward the Confessor: *obv.*, + EDPERD . REX, the Saxon "P" being used for "W". Bust to left, with spiked crown. *Rev.*, IOCIL . ON . EOFFW (York).—Harold: *obv.*, HAROLD . REX . ANGLO, crowned bust with sceptre in front; *rev.*, across the centre, FAX. Also the half and quarter of a penny of the same reign, evidently cut for circulation.

Dr. Lee, V.P., laid before the Association six specimens of dark-coloured glass vessels in fractured portions, found in different parts of Hartwell. They appear to have belonged to large bottles, ill formed in shape and probably thrown away as rubbish. On the base of one is the coat of arms of the family of Lee. The peculiarity offered by these specimens which attracts attention is the beautifully iridescent appearance exhibited on their surfaces produced by the oxydation of the glass from having remained for a long time buried in the earth. One of the examples was found at a depth of only three feet. They belong to the early part of the seventeenth century, but whence obtained no information could be gathered. There is no record of any glass manufactory having been in the neighbourhood. The exhibition of these fragments gave rise to a conversation as to the effects of time and moisture in oxydising glass, and sometimes giving to it an appearance as if worm-eaten. The glass exhumed lately at Cumæ exhibited remarkable decay, portions of it falling off in scales upon the slightest touch of its surface.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., exhibited the impressions of two seals, obligingly sent to him by the very rev. Dr. Husenbeth, of Cossy. One of these was found at Lincoln, and represents a priest saying mass. The legend reads, + CREDE MICHI ET EST SATIS +. It is of the fourteenth century. The other seal was found at Somerleyton, in Suffolk, last year. It is monastic, but the legend indistinct. It was therefore referred for future consideration, together with other seals presented by Mr. Planché and Mr. Meyrick.

Mr. Meyrick and Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited early English arrow-heads, one of which was found in Walbrook, the other in Angel-court, Throgmorton-street. Mr. Cuming read some observations upon these interesting specimens. (See pp. 142-44, *ante*.)

Mr. Syer Cuming also favoured the Association with remarks "On Spectacles," and illustrated his paper by numerous specimens from his own collection and that of W. C. Whelan, esq. (See pp. 144-50, *ante*.)

JUNE 13.

S. R. SOLLY, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Sir S. Morton Peto, bart., exhibited three fine examples of the British *cleddy*, or leaf-shaped sword of bronze, discovered in a cutting, during the making of the Great Northern railway, at Washingborough, near the river Witham, Lincolnshire. Two of them were found in a bay about three feet below the surface. From the number of warlike reliquies found in the bed of the Witham, and in its immediate neighbourhood, it would appear that some conflict must have taken place about this spot in Celtic times. It was from this river that the beautiful *ysgwyd*, or oblong bronze shield, was recovered, which is now in the Meyrick collection. The third specimen of the *cleddy* was also obtained from the same site. It measures one foot ten inches in length, and is quite perfect. The flat tang, instead of being perforated for the admission of rivets to secure the horn or wood composing the hilt, has a long narrow ovate slit above the centre, and one on each side of the lower part, where it joins the blade. At its thickest part it scarcely exceeds a quarter of an inch, and is therefore too thin to have been employed without some coating, though how that coating was attached is difficult to decide. At a short distance from the three swords were also discovered two Roman vessels of grey-coloured terra-cotta. The one a sepulchral *olla*, nine inches high, the rim being six and three-quarters inches diameter. The other a *guttus*, about ten and a half inches high, closely resembling in general form the example engraved in the *Journal*, iv, p. 158, which was found near Chichester. The mouths of both these specimens are of unusual fashion.

Mr. Gibbs exhibited a half-shilling of the second coinage of Elizabeth, discovered in his garden, near Windmill-hill, Gravesend, June 7th, 1855. It is in fine preservation, and bears date 1571, and has on either side the mint mark of a castle.

Mr. Crafter exhibited a fine specimen of gold florin he had lately obtained from Hastings, where he believes it was found. The Florentines were among the first people of Europe to revive the use of gold as a circulating medium. In the middle of the thirteenth century, they issued pieces bearing on one side the figure of St. John the Baptist (the patron of Florence), and the legend s · IOHANNES · B; and on the other a large *fleur-de-lis*, with the word FLORENTIA. These beautiful coins were called *florins*, a name now most absurdly bestowed on the two-shilling pieces of this country. When perfect, they weigh a drachm; but they are generally much clipped, which was the case in the present specimen.

Mr. G. R. Wright read a short paper on the various portraits assigned to Shakespeare, and exhibited the original painting, formerly in the collection of John lord Lumley, at Lumley castle, Durham, an engraving of which in chromo-lithography is now in the course of publication by Mr. Vincent Brooks, and to be seen at Hogarth's, in the Haymarket. This picture was sold by auction in 1807, and passed into the hands of Mr. Ralph Waters, of Newcastle, whence it came to the present owner, George Rippon, esq., of North Shields. Lord Lumley was contemporary with Shakespeare, and by his decease the title became extinct. Doubts were expressed as to the appropriation of this portrait to our most distinguished bard. It certainly differs in some respects from the Chandos and other portraits; but the features resemble those of the bust over the tomb at Stratford.

Mr. T. Gunston exhibited three brass rubbings. The first, from the nave of Haddenham church, Bucks, represents a priest (circa 1420) habited in a plain cope. The original inscription having been lost, a more recent one, reversed and arranged in rhyme, has been substituted, and reads thus :

"Here lyeth Gylt Chobryge rector and Elizabeth h' wyfe
The xii day of August changed their lyfe."

In the church lies a slab with the matrix of a small brass to commemorate two persons, the indent for the inscription corresponding in size with the plate above.

The second rubbing was from a mural tablet at Stoke d'Aubernon, in Surrey, representing a child enveloped in long swathes of cloth, with bandages something after the fashion of the mummies of Egypt; on the forehead is a cross potent.

"Pray for the soule of Elgn bray dowghtur of Sir Edmond bray Knight and Jane hys wyfe whiche elgn dyed ye xvi day of May. A. m. m. lxi."

The third rubbing is from Dinton church, Bucks, and portrays a knight and lady. His dress consists of back and breast plates, with small overlapping flexible plates reaching nearly to the knees. The upper part of the arms are also encased in plate, and beneath is seen the doublet and capacious breeches well bombasted. The head is unhelmed, and shews the flowing hair and long beard; his neck is encircled by a plaited ruff; and he has boots of leather with large tops to supply the place of the ponderous jambs and sollerets; across the instep is a piece of leather, through which the spurs are affixed; and the long narrow sword is girded behind the figure. The lady is habited in a long gown, with a row of plaits round the waist, close sleeves, to which pendant ones are affixed, and a tight boddice; her head is covered by a French hood, beneath which the hair is tightly secured, the coverchef falling behind the shoulders like a mantle; her ruff is large, and at the wrists are cuffs of

lace turned down. Above the effigies is an achievement of arms: *Ermine*, on a bend three dexter hands couped at the wrist, impaling quarterly, 1 and 4, on a chief indented three birds in fess; 2 and 3, a saltire cross engrailed charged with birds. Two crests. On the sinister side, a hand couped at the wrist between two wings erect on a wreath; on the dexter side, an eagle displayed standing on a coronet. Below is the following inscription: "HERE · LYE · THE · BODIES · OF · SIMON · MAYNE · ESQ. & COLVBERRY · HIS · WYFE · WHO · HAD · ISSUE · SIMON · & · COLVBERRY · Wth · SIMON · Y^r · FATHER · DYED · THE 13th · DAY · OF · IVLY · AN^o · Dⁿⁱ · 1617 & COLVBERRY · THE · MOTHER · DYED · Y^r · 10th · DAY · OF · IANVARY · AN^o · Dⁿⁱ · 1628."

Also the effigies of the daughter and son above mentioned. The costume of the former corresponds with that of the lady; and the latter is represented with the large trunk hose, long waisted doublet, short cloak, wide ruff, stockings confined with loose garters, and shoes with roses. This personage in early life was regarded as a man of integrity, and chosen magistrate for the county. He soon became conspicuous in public affairs, and was elected a burgess for the town of Aylesbury in the Long Parliament. He was one of the judges who signed the warrant for the execution of his sovereign, and affixed his seal, but the arms were obliterated. At the Restoration, he was seized and tried, with sir W. Waller, at the Old Bailey, condemned in the usual manner, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he died, April 18th, 1666, being then forty-nine years of age: In the *Mystery of the Good Old Cause*, printed in 1660, he is called "a great committee man, wherein he licked his fingers, one of the prince's cruel judges, and a constant Rumper to the last."

Capt. A. C. Tupper exhibited a grant of Henry VIII to John Uvedale, esq., in consideration of the receipt of £364 : 0 : 6, paid to the treasurer of the Court of Augmentation for the site of the late dissolved priory of nuns at Marryck, in the county of York, within the archdeaconry of Richmond, with all the property of the priory within the precinct thereof, and a close of meadow called Aplegarth, and other lands and woods therein named in Downeham and elsewhere in Yorkshire; also the rectory, tithes, and advowson of Marryck and all other possessions of the said priory, reserving, however, to the crown all mines of lead, and a certain hospital called the Spital-house of Stanemore, in Stanemer in the county of Westmoreland. This grant, on two sheets of thick vellum, well written, and ornamented in the first letter "H" with a pen and ink portrait of king Henry VIII, is dated Westminster, June 8, 37th Henry VIII (1545), and has appended to it a fine impression of the large royal seal.

The priory of Marrick, Maryke, Marige, or Marrigg, was a nunnery founded either in the latter end of the reign of king Stephen, or at the beginning of that of Henry II, by Roger de Aske. Dugdale¹ makes men-

¹ Monasticon, iv, 244 et seq., last edition.

tion of several grants made to this priory by Conan de Aske, and Roger de Aske, his son, lord of the manor, among which occurs the vaccary called Uvelands, in the territory of Marrick, for twenty-four cows with their "sequela" till three years old, pasture for five hundred sheep with their lambs until the time of separation, and two whole meadows within the pasture. These were confirmed by Edward III in the twenty-second year of his reign.¹ Leland² mentions "Marik, a priory of blake nunnes of the foundation of the Askes. It stondith, *ripa ulter*, five miles above Richemont." The possessions of the priory are given by Burton.³ The hospital of Rerecross, or the spital of Stanemore, mentioned in the grant now exhibited, was given to the priory in 1171, by Ralph, son of Ralph, lord of Moulton. "By the act of parliament of the 27th Henry VIII, which gave the king the lesser monasteries, that is, those which were rated under £200 a-year, and contained fewer than twelve religious persons, he was empowered to continue those which he thought proper. This priory, in consequence of this act, had the king's letters patent, dated the 9th of September, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, to continue after the dissolution of the small houses; but four years after, on the 15th September, 1539, 31st Henry VIII, at the general abolition of all religious houses, it was surrendered by Christabella Cowper, the prioress, and sixteen nuns."⁴

In the 37th, not the 31st Henry VIII as stated in Dugdale, the site and possessions of this priory were granted to John Uvedale, his heirs and assigns, not for twenty-one years as this authority gives it, but for ever. Alured Uvedale appears to have possessed them in the 3rd of Edward VI; and in the fourth of the same sovereign, according to Clarkson, another John Uvedale held them. The priory passed from the Uvedales to the Brackenburs, through Richard Brackenburs, esq., by his deed of feoffment dated April 9, 34th Elizabeth, to Timothy Hutton, and Elizabeth his wife. A Matthew Hutton parted with the priory and tithes of the township about the year 1633, for the sum of £3,280, the rental being £230, to the Blackburnes, who sold them at different times to the Bulmers, Pigotts, and other persons. The site of the priory and part of the estate belonging to it was in 1823 the property of James Pigott Ince, a descendant of the Pigotts. The priory was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the convent seal represented the Virgin and child. This is derived from an *inspeximus* of Edward III's reign, according to a charter of the time of Henry II. The charter of Edward III's reign, confirming the donations to the priory, is printed in Dugdale; also pensions and annuities "lymyted and assigned by John Uvedale and Leonarde Bekwyth, commissioners under the privy seal; valuation of rents, and the return according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, temp. Hen. VIII."

The Association then adjourned to Wednesday the 28th of November.

¹ See Clarkson's History of Richmond, p. 316.

² Monast. Ebor., p. 271; see also Clarkson, p. 319.

³ Itinerary, v, 119.

⁴ Monast., iv, 224.

British Archaeological Association.

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING, ISLE OF WIGHT, 1855,

AUGUST 20TH, TO 25TH INCLUSIVE.

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Ac., &c., &c.
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Christopher Lynch, Esq.	William Yewd, Esq.

Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 20.

THE associates and visitors assembled during the forenoon at the Town Hall of Newport, which had been kindly placed at the service of the Association, during the Congress, by the mayor and corporation. Proceeding from the council chamber, to the body of the court, the opening meeting commenced at half-past three, P.M., T. J. PETTIGREW, esq., V.P., being called to the chair; when he announced to those present that he had received a communication from the earl of Perth and Melfort, the president, apologizing for his absence, in consequence of the sudden and severe illness of one of his children at Dieppe, and expressing his inability to be present under such circumstances. Mr. Pettigrew therefore commenced the proceedings by reading a paper "On the Antiquities of the Isle of Wight, as already illustrated by the British Archæological Association" (see pp. 177-193 *ante*); which was followed by a discourse from W. H. BLACK, esq., on the Newport records, which were brought, by permission of the corporation, by the town clerk, for the inspection of the members and visitors attending the Congress.

The first was a grant to the inhabitants of certain privileges of government and toll, by earl Richard de Redvers, in the reign of Henry II, which was followed by a great number of charters confirming those privileges, and which had been granted by the successive kings of England from Richard II till Charles II. In these charters the town was named Medine. The original charters were, in most cases, produced; and the seals, which were very large, composed chiefly of green wax, were in very good preservation. Many of the documents themselves, however, were decayed, apparently from damp. In almost every case the first few words were ornamented, or left in outline, in order to be illuminated if the parties should choose to incur the expense. There were very excellent portraits of some of the kings, including Edward VI and Charles II, in these documents. Besides the charters, Mr. Black exhibited a mass of old documents, preserved in the public records, relating to the leases of the land of the town. These, as well as the charters, were, with one or two exceptions, in Latin. Mr. Black read them off, translating them as he proceeded into English, with a facility which astonished his hearers. He stated that they formed almost a complete history of the town from the reign of Henry III to that of Elizabeth, and would prove highly valuable if selected and rendered available for general use by local historians. They will be referred to in future communications.

The rev. E. KELL, M.A., F.S.A., one of the honorary local secretaries,

produced plans of the town of Newport; and JOHN BRITTON, esq., sent numerous plans and drawings of the Isle of Wight, Carisbrooke, and Newport, by various artists and antiquaries, for the use of the Association. There were also drawings of Southampton walls, made by sir Henry Englefield, bart., in 1804; and a sketch by Schnebbelie, made in 1800, of a part of the walls of the town of Southampton. Sketches of Netley abbey, the Grange lodge, etc., by Mr. Britton; a drawing of the door of Yaverland church, Isle of Wight, by W. Alexander, esq., made in 1811; and sketches of the church of St. Cross, near Winchester. J. ADEY REPTON, esq., F.S.A., also contributed a very interesting sketch book, made by him half a century since, during a journey through the Isle of Wight and the neighbouring country, giving representations of scenery, churches, and other buildings, at Wooton, Knighton, Brading, Carisbrooke, Gatcombe, Gatcombe downs, Freshwater, and other places, several of which were found to have undergone material changes, and, in some instances, to have wholly disappeared.

The party now quitted the Town Hall, and having taken a glance at the progress made in the building of St. Thomas's church (no remains of the ancient one now being apparent), proceeded, under the direction of the rev. ALLAN WALLACE, M.A., one of the honorary local secretaries for Newport, and master of the Grammar School, to visit that edifice. The rev. Mr. Wallace, who resides in the house, kindly led the party over the apartments in which the parliamentary commissioners, during the reign of Charles I, held a forty days' conference to arrange terms with the monarch, they growing fearful of the increasing power of Cromwell. The modes of communication from the large chamber, or committee room, fifty feet in length (now used as a school-room), with the insignificant apartments of the king, were pointed out by Mr. Wallace, and excited much interest. There are some carvings in the abode, but they are not of much merit. The Grammar School was founded in 1618, by voluntary subscription. The stipend for the master arises from meadow lands, near to Newport, granted to the bailiffs and burgesses in the first year of the reign of Henry V (1413), by Agnes Attelode and John Erlesman, and are described as lying on "Hunny hill", on the north side of the stream called "Lukely", and consist of about thirty acres.

Quitting the Grammar School, the Association proceeded to visit the museum of the Isle of Wight, at Newport, under the care of Ernest P. Wilkins, esq., curator of the museum, the contents of which, both as respects the natural history and antiquities of the island, are exceedingly interesting and well preserved. The president and committee of the museum had directed the museum to be open at all hours to those attending the Congress, and given permission to allow any thing to be copied that might aid in the researches of the Association. Some tracings taken from mural paintings in the late St. Thomas's church at Newport, now

completely destroyed, are preserved in the museum; one of which represents a full-sized figure of king David playing upon the harp.

The evening meeting took place in the Town Hall, at half-past eight precisely; and the proceedings commenced by the reading of a paper, by C. E. DAVIS, esq., F.S.A., "On the distinguishing Characteristics of the various Styles of Ecclesiastical Architecture," as an introduction to his description, *en route*, of the several churches in the Isle of Wight intended to be visited. This paper will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

To Mr. Davis's discourse succeeded a paper by the rev. D. I. HEATH, M.A., vicar of Brading, "On the Jewish Exodus, as illustrated by certain Egyptian Papyri." (See pp. 238-248 *ante*.) The reading of this paper gave rise to an interesting discussion, principally conducted by Mr. Pettigrew, Dr. Lee, and Mr. Black, as to the progress made in hieroglyphical literature, and the difficulties which attend the reading of the hieratical and enchorial characters. Mr. Pettigrew observed, that hitherto Egyptian papyri had been almost a dead letter as regarded historical information, and that the labours of Mr. Heath promised to extend our information. The evening satisfactorily terminated by voting to Mr. Heath the thanks of the meeting for his very learned and able paper.¹

TUESDAY, AUGUST 21.

This day the excursions commenced, and the party quitted Newport at half-past ten, A.M., for CARISBROOKE CASTLE, where, under the direction of lord Heytesbury, the governor of the Isle of Wight, every preparation had been made for the reception of the Association. Having partially looked over the remains, an assembly took place in a large room in the governor's house, when Mr. PETTIGREW (in the absence of Dr. W. Beattie, hon. foreign secretary, who was prevented by indisposition from attending the meeting) read a paper on the castle and its ancient lords. (See pp. 193-205 *ante*.)

To Dr. Beattie's paper succeeded the following observations by J. H. HEARN, esq., of Newport, in relation to the princess Elizabeth:—"Among the comparatively few subjects of general interest attached to the castle of Carisbrooke and the town of Newport, that of the imprisonment of the second daughter of the unfortunate Charles, with her brother the duke of Gloucester, and her interment in the church at Newport, is not the least important; and it is the more so from the circumstance that the historian Hume has given a false colouring to the subject, and has raised an erroneous interest in the fate of the princess, from his statement that it was the intention of the parliament to have apprenticed their young

¹ Those associates who feel interested in Egyptian inquiries, will do well to read Mr. Heath's lately published work, *The Exodus Papyri*. J. W. Parker, 1855; 8vo.

captive to a button-maker in Newport. For this statement no authority can be found; and, on the contrary, all existing contemporaneous documents show that every respect consistent with their altered position was paid to the children of the king.

"In the portrait of the princess now before us (to which no name of artist is attached), there is a great air of sadness, and the countenance is that of a person beyond the age of sixteen; but, although not to be trusted altogether, the historian's account that, 'notwithstanding her tender years, she showed an advanced judgment, the calamities of her family having made a deep impression on her,' would appear to be borne out by the portrait. Bereft of her mother's society when little more than eight years old, and from that time until the close of her early life, living in times when each day to her brought only regrets and sorrows for the past, and gloomy anticipations and fears for the future, it is not surprising that the workings of a talented and sensitive mind were apparent in the too rapid growth and premature decay of the body; and in the year following her father's death, while resident at the earl of Leicester's house at Penshurst, the malady which so soon hastened her to her grave first displayed itself; and its commencement and progress are recorded in the journal of her physician, Dr. Treherne. His attendance commenced in March 1649-50, and in the following August, her health being sufficiently restored to enable her to travel, an order was made by the parliament for removing 'the two children of the late king out of the limits of the commonwealth'; and, pending the means of forwarding them to their mother, or other members of their family, the council determined on sending them to Carisbrooke Castle, to occupy the same apartments which had been last tenanted by their father. From the king's death the princess and her mother had been residing with, and under the care of, the earl and countess of Leicester, at Penshurst; but upon the resolution for their removal, Cromwell and his associates did not lose sight of the birth and station of their captives. A resolution of the house was passed giving to each of them a yearly allowance of £1000, and although that to the princess was not long needed, soon after her death her brother's stipend was increased to £1500. By a letter published in Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. ii, p. 108, from John Burroughs (or, as I should rather read the name, Barmeston) 'the princess Elizabeth with her brother Henry duke of Gloucester were received by Mr. Anthony Mildmay, from the earl and countess of Leicester, at Penshurst, on Friday the 9th of August, 1650.'

"By a note made by sir John Oglander, they landed at Cowes on the following Tuesday, the 13th August, and three days afterwards, on the 16th, were first lodged in the castle. The delay that occurred between the arrival at Cowes and the admission to the castle, probably arose from the want of instruction to colonel Sydenham, the governor; for the letter

of Bradshaw, the president of the council, to colonel Sydenham, authorizing him to receive his prisoners, does not bear date until the 27th of August, and probably did not reach him until death had relieved him of the care of the princess.

"The letter to colonel Sydenham refers to the plots which existed in various parts of the kingdom for the restoration of the royal family; and he is invested with full powers to remove from the island all persons suspected.

"With Mr. Mildmay, to whom the especial care of the princess and her brother was entrusted, there were in attendance on them, John Barmeston, gentleman-usher; Judith Briot, gentlewoman; Elizabeth Jones, 'laundrie mayde'; John Clarke, groom of y^e chamber'; and in order to render their lodgings as comfortable and as far as possible equal to those they had been accustomed to, a large quantity of their father's household furniture was brought by Mildmay from Penshurst, having, according to the inventory, been received by him 'for y^e use of y^e late king's children'. But it is probable that this furniture did not arrive at its destination sufficiently early to afford any comfort to the princess; for within a week after her entrance into the castle, on the Monday following, being at bowls, a 'sport she much delighted in, there fell a sudden shower, and being of a sickly constitution it caused her to take cold, and the next day she complained of headache and feverish distemper, which by fits increased upon her; and on the first three or four days she had the advice of Dr. Bagnell, a worthy and able physician of Newport, and then care was taken by Dr. Treherne, in London, to send a physician and remedies of election to her. But, notwithstanding the care of that honest and faithful gentleman, Anthony Mildmay, esq., and all the art of her physicians, her disease grew upon her; and, after many rare ejaculatory expressions, abundantly demonstrating her unparalleled piety, to the eternal honour of her own memory, and the astonishment of those who waited on her, she took leave of the world on Sunday the 8th September, 1650.

"On the 11th September, sir Henry Mildmay reported to the house that the lady Elizabeth was indisposed, and had some inclination to go to her sister, the princess of Orange, which the council think she should do; and on the same day, the house having been informed of her death, it was ordered that it be referred to the committee of revenue to consider of, and give orders for, her interment in the Isle of Wight, and for providing mourning for her brother Henry and his servants, and also for the servants of the said lady, as they should think fit.'

"The resolution of the house had been anticipated at Carisbrooke, her body embalmed and comfortably disposed of in a coffin of lead; and, after lying for sixteen days, on the 24th September was brought in a borrowed coach from the castle to the town of Newport, 'attended thither with her late servants. At the end of the town the corpse was met and

waited on by the mayor and aldermen thereof, in all their formalities, to the church, where, about the middle of the east part of the chancel, in St. Thomas chapel, her highness was interred in a small vault purposely made, with an inscription of the date of her death engraved on her coffin.'

"The interment of the princess was long and reverently remembered amongst the townspeople of Newport for nearly seventy years afterwards. An inquiring visitor, in *Church Notes in the Isle of Wight*, was told that the inscription on the coffin was, 'The lady Elizabeth, daughter to king Charles the 1st, Sept. 8, MDCL.' But knowledge of the vault and its contents gradually died away, and the letters E. S., cut in the wall, were unnoticed; and this obscure resting-place of royalty would have been altogether forgotten but for its accidental discovery, in Oct. 1793, by some workmen employed in digging a grave to receive the remains of the hon. Thomas West, son of lord de la Warr, when the vault was opened and found to contain a coffin of very strong lead, ridged in the middle, and having the inscription, 'Elizabeth, 2nd daughter of the late king Charles, deceased Sept. 8, MDCL.'

"In order that the spot might not be again overlooked, a plate with a simple inscription was placed on the stone covering the vault, and advantage was taken of the opportunity to remove from the wall of the churchyard, where it had long administered a silent but potent rebuke of the then very prevalent practice of burying in the church, a tablet bearing the following singular inscription, 'Here lyeth y^e body of master George Shergold, late minister of New Port, who, during sixteen years in discharge of his office, strictly observed the true discipline of y^e Church of England, disliking that dead bodies should be interred in God's house appointed to be interred in this place. He died, universally lamented and esteemed, January xxiii, 1707.' This old inscription being placed with the face to the stone, and economically supplying, by the reverse, the tablet for the more interesting record.

"Since the discovery of the vault, the interest originally felt by the townspeople of Newport with respect to the royal remains committed to their charge, has revived, and continued in full force."

The preceding observations of Mr. Hearn gave rise to an interesting conversation, in which Mr. Pettigrew remarked that the disease of which the princess Elizabeth had died, had been most distinctly shown by a report which had been read to him (and he unhesitatingly pledged his professional reputation upon this point), to have been *rickets*, and in a very general form. As Mr. Hearn had only alluded to the discovery of the remains of the princess in 1793, Mr. Pettigrew was anxious to inquire of Mr. Hearn, who, living upon the spot, and taking so deep an interest in all that related to the history and antiquities of the island, was most likely to be cognizant of the circumstance, whether the contents of the

coffin had not been more recently examined? And he wished also to know whether Mr. Hearn had seen the report of the examination he had alluded to? Mr. Hearn replied that he had not seen such a report, and that he believed it to be altogether fictitious. Mr. Pettigrew therefore gave up his authority for the statement he had made, by naming Mr. George Hillier, who had produced it and read it to him; and as Mr. Hillier was collecting for, and about to publish, a history of the Isle of Wight, he could not regard the circumstance as fabulous. It was, however, desirable to ascertain the truth of this; and it might not, therefore, be altogether useless to make an examination of the coffin, to be satisfied that the remains of the princess were contained within it, particularly as he understood her majesty was about to erect a monument to the memory of the unfortunate princess. Mr. Black, in allusion to the statement that Dr. Treherne had sent "remedies of election" for the princess, observed that this expression was to be understood in an astrological sense, and that it was known that Dr. Treherne had cast her horoscope. The combination of astrology with medicine, in former days, was almost universal. Thanks were voted to Mr. Hearn for his paper; and after acknowledging the same, he kindly proceeded to conduct the Association and their visitors over the remains of the castle, displaying an intimate acquaintance with its several parts and the historical associations connected with them; and he particularly pointed out the two windows at which Charles had made two several attempts to escape.

After thus inspecting the castle, the Association proceeded to visit CARISBROOKE CHURCH, every facility for the examination of which had been kindly given by the vicar, the rev. E. D. Scott, M.A. The church consists of a nave, south aisle, and porch, with a western tower, the Norman chancel having entirely disappeared, leaving but one trace of its former existence in the impost of the chancel arch. Mr. Davis appeared to be of opinion that a tower of early English character had originally formed one bay of the south aisle, of which the arch, peculiarly abutting against one of the Norman columns of the nave and the present entrance from the porch, formed two of its sides. In the north wall, an early English doorway, now walled up, clearly proved that no north aisle had ever existed, although segmental arches of similar character, more eastward in the same wall (one of which formed the canopy of a font) proved that there had been a northern chapel or transept. The tower, of very bold and good perpendicular, is built in stages, embattled with an octagonal turret. The eastern windows of the church have been inserted during the last century.

From Carisbrooke, the party travelled to SHALFLEET CHURCH, an exceedingly good specimen of early second pointed. The windows of the south aisle are singularly beautiful, the heads being pierced with ovals, inclining towards the apex, surmounted by a circular aperture.

The nave is divided from the aisle by early English arches upon very beautiful Purbeck columns, now unfortunately covered with whitewash. The chancel arch is remarkable for a peculiarity of treatment at the impost, the increased width of the arch being terminated by a partial foliation. The church is lit, north and south, with lancet-windows of good style. The entrance to the church, from the north, is by a Norman doorway, in the tympanum of which is the representation of David with the lion and bear (?), rather rudely and grotesquely carved¹ on one stone: with the exception of this work, the doorway is nearly plain. The tower is Norman with shallow buttresses; but the original windows have been foliated at a later period: it is now surmounted by a wooden spire erected with money raised by the sale of the bells and the gun belonging to the church; but Mr. Dayis was of opinion, from the very large area of the tower and the extreme thickness of the walls, that it had formerly been of considerably greater elevation.

Having examined this structure under the kind conduct of the rev. Thomas Cottle, the Association proceeded to NEWTOWN, a small and very insignificant place, consisting only of a few cottages and the ruins of a church; but, prior to the passing of the reform bill, returning two members to parliament. Newtown is interesting to us as a borough of royal foundation, and it still retains its corporate privileges. It was the ancient Francheville; and the charters kindly sent by sir John Simeon, bart., for the inspection of the Association, were of considerable interest, and ably read and descanted upon by Mr. Black, in the room in which formerly the members of parliament were returned, and regarded as the town hall, but now generally employed as a schoolroom. Here the party assembled, and examined also the regalia belonging to the borough. There was an exceedingly interesting silver mace, having the seal of Edward IV. This, during examination, fell out, and exposed to view, on the reverse, the arms of the commonwealth, which had, therefore, to save expense, been engraved upon it, and at the period of the restoration turned back again, and the original of Edward IV brought into use.

The party then returned to Newport, and in the evening held a meeting at the Town Hall, where Mr. Planché read a paper "On the Lords of the Isle of Wight" (see pp. 213-227 *ante*), which was succeeded by one by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, "On the Relics of Charles I" (see pp. 227-238 *ante*). Several exhibitions of relics referred to in Mr. Cuming's paper were produced, and an interesting conversation maintained. The evening closed by the reading of a portion of a paper by Mr. F. J. Baigent on the Limerston Family, which will appear in the next *Journal*.

¹ A good representation of these figures, together with the door and the adjoining architecture, may be seen in plate 14 of sir Henry Englefield's *History of the Isle of Wight*.

[To be continued.]

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ON THE FAMILY OF DE LYMERSTON, AND ITS HEIRESS, THE FOUNDRESS OF THE TICHBORNE DOLE.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT, ESQ.

[Read at the Isle of Wight Congress.]

HAVING undertaken to say something of the family of De Lymerston, the members of which derived their name from the manor of Lymerston, situated in, and forming a portion of, the present parish of Brixton;¹ I must frankly acknowledge the very limited character of such an attempt, from being compelled to go back to a period at least a century anterior to the time when existing documents, records, or treaties enable us satisfactorily to trace the descent of families;—to a period, when surnames had not as yet become a recognized inheritance; when individuals were therefore necessarily distinguished, either by the place of their abode or by their connections; as William the son of Baldwin, Humphrey the son of Ralph, etc. These appellations doubtless were as significant, and as well understood by those who lived around them, as recognized surnames became at a subsequent period; though they now present themselves to us as decided obstacles in the means of tracing family descent. Indeed, with such names, we are oftentimes as much at a loss (for the individuals intended) as though they had never been handed down to us.

Those who have turned their attention to this branch of archæology, know but too well the many difficulties and disheartening impediments that make their appearance at each successive step, till it seems almost hopeless to proceed; then perhaps may come a little success, and all ap-

¹ Or Brightstone, in the Isle of Wight.

pears to prosper; when again the tables are turned, for those very evidences and documents which had previously given increased zeal, are often found in themselves to offer still more serious obstacles than hitherto had been encountered, —variance in dates and of names, some too early, others too late; yet if the inquirer be still undaunted, the research is resumed with fresh energy, and it is satisfactory sometimes to find such perseverance rewarded, though even perhaps to an extent only to be regarded as trivial in its import.

To obviate therefore, as it were, the scantiness of my materials concerning the family of De Lymerston, I shall direct your notice to another family, one, though not less ancient, yet still existing, and which may again spread out and be as prominent and renowned in years to come, as they have been in ages gone by. Should the adoption of this plan cause surprise, or perhaps induce some to exclaim, "What have the TICHBORNES to do with the Isle of Wight?" I must reply by stating that "the TICHBORNES are to this day the sole representatives of the Lymerstons, and for a period of more than six hundred years have had possession of their domains, including the manor of Lymerston itself."

The manor of Lymerston or Levintune, as it is called in *Domesday Book*,¹ was anciently in possession of the crown, but soon after the conquest it was bestowed upon the family who took the name of the manor, and were called De Lymersi, De Lymreston, or De Lymerston. The armorial bearings of this family are represented on pl. 20, fig. 1. *Argent*, three eagles displayed, *gules*; within a border, *azure*, charged with eight bezants.² The Lymerstons founded within the manor an oratory or chapel for three priests, which endowment was augmented and increased by Geoffrey de Tycheburne in the reign of Henry III. This foundation or religious establishment was similar to that of the oratory of Barton, in the parish of Whippingham.³

¹ "Ipse rex ten' Levintune, Ulviet venator tenuit in paragio, t. c. p una hida modo dim. Trā. e ij car. ibi iij villi et ij bord. hñt. ij car. ibi ij servi. Silva ad clausura. Val. et valuit xx sol. Elnod ten. in Levintune I hid. de rege. Ipse tenuit in paragio. t. a. e. Tē. et mo. p. una hida. Trā. e. i. car. in dñio, est dim. car. cū. ij bord. Valuit x sol. modo xii sol. Ulnod ten. de rege dimid. v et p. tanto se dēfd. t. a. e. et modo Trā ē dimid'. car. ibi e un. bord. Val. xxx den."—*Domesday Book (Isle of Wight)*, temp. Will. I, c. 1080.

² From the Tichborne family muniments.

³ See account of Barton Oratory, in *Transactions of the British Archæological Association at the Congress held at Winchester in 1845*, pp. 49-54.

The chaplains were to officiate both for the living and the dead, under the rules of St. Augustine. After two or three generations the family became extinct.¹ Ralph de Lymersi, the grandson of the first proprietor, left an only daughter named Mabella sole heiress to his estates, who espoused sir Roger de Tycheburna, a valiant knight,—

“ Who in the front of battle loved to be,—
There his proud banner shook to the gale
Its swelling pomp of empty heraldry ;”—

lord of Tichburne, in the county of Hants, in the time of king Stephen and Henry II. This lady Mabella, the last of the Lymerstons, was for many centuries a “ household word” throughout the county and the Isle of Wight, leaving a name scarcely of less renown for sanctity than many who have been enrolled in the saintly calendar. Her mother is traditionally said to have been Adeliza, a daughter of Richard de Redvers, the first earl of Devon and lord of the Isle of Wight. However, we will for a few moments leave this good lady in peace, merely observing that the present noble baronet traces a direct descent through two and twenty generations from this lady.

The family of Tichborne are well known to be of Saxon descent, and date the possession of their present patrimony, the manor of Tichborne, two hundred years before the conquest.² Tichborne is a village about six miles to the east of Winchester, though its name does not appear in the *Domesday Book* of the conqueror. It is possible that the influence of the great Norman prelate Walkelin, a cousin of the conqueror’s, might have obtained the omission of Tichborne, as well as the adjoining parish of Beauworth, from the general census of his sovereign, these places being in the hands of the bishop. The only parish recorded in this extensive tract of land held by the bishops of Winchester is Kilместon (Chelместune), with one church and the manor as held by the bishop. However, we have positive evidence of the existence of Tichborne in Anglo-Saxon days, from grants made of certain portions of land to the bishops and church of Winchester by the Saxon

¹ This perhaps needs qualification, as some junior members of the family appear to have settled in Warwickshire, and also a branch in Dorsetshire. The similarity of the armorial bearings of the Warwickshire De Lymersié’s, is a sufficient proof almost of their having sprung from the same parent stock with those of the Isle of Wight.

² Speech of Chydiocke Tichborne, A.D. 1586.

kings, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, and Edgar.¹ From these documents, the manor of Tichborne seems to have been at that time more extensive than the present parish, which is now merely a chapelry dependant on the rectory of Cheriton. The parish of Cheriton appears to have been formed (possibly in the latter part of the twelfth century, by the powerful Henry de Blois) out of the manor of Tichborne, for no mention of Cheriton in any existing document is discoverable for two centuries after the conquest.

In the Anglo-Saxon charters the name is written Ticceburna and Ticceburnam [TICCEBURNAM ON ICENAM]² [ICENE]. Thus it may be seen the family derive their name from the place of their habitation, the river or burn of Itchen.

From history we learn how it fared with those of true and noble Saxon descent when the Norman entered; and a mighty monarchy, laid in blood, bound by laws of iron, ruled over England's destinies. The family of Tichborne for a period remained in obscurity, and was not seen or heard of in the courts of kings or moving to and fro among the nobles of the land.³ But when the first of the Plantagenets ascended the throne, and the Saxons were allowed to resume their wonted places of honour, and no longer looked upon with scorn by those of Norman blood;—the chroniclers tell of a gallant crusader, whose name and deeds of prowess were known far and wide, sir Roger de Tycheburna, who oft had waved the standard of the cross high above over the infidel Moslems and Saracens, and for these deeds of high emprise and love he was rewarded with the hand of the fair lady Mabella, the heiress of De Lymerston; for—

“Right faithful true was he in deed and word.”

¹ These grants, or copies of them, are preserved among the muniments of the bishopric.

² In a grant of Ina, king of Wessex A.D. 690 to 725, preserved among the records of the dean and chapter of Winchester.

³ Sir Henry Tichborne (the third baronet) compiled a history of his family, from the days of his Anglo-Saxon ancestors down to his own time, from *then* existing records, and partly from home-retained traditions in the family. “But such,” says he in a letter he wrote to his son on his deathbed, “has been the unhappiness of the times wherein myself have lived; all which I had collected with much labour and industry, was in a moment destroyed.” These were burnt by his friends, with other valuable papers and documents, on his being committed to the Tower as a popish recusant, fearing something might be found among his writings, that would have been made use of by his enemies, perhaps to support a charge of high treason, or at least to the hazard of his life. “Nor can I blame,” says he, “their caution, though I condole the loss.”

The earliest documentary evidence I have been able to obtain is in the *Liber Wynton*, the *Domesday Book* of the city of Winchester, made in the reign of Henry I, when Walter de Tycheburna is found holding different properties and houses in the city of Winchester. This Walter de Tycheburna was the father of sir Roger de Tycheburna.

The next evidence is an interesting and valuable document I discovered among the family muniments, being a deed of exchange between sir Roger de Tycheburna, the husband of lady Mabella, and Henry de Blois, brother to king Stephen, and cardinal bishop of Winchester, executed between the years 1160 and 1169. Henry de Blois, abbot of Glastonbury, was consecrated bishop of Winchester in 1129, and died on the 9th August, 1171. King Henry II paid him a visit when on his death-bed, when the aged and dying prelate did not hesitate to reproach him for the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and with his dying breath implored the king to make his peace with the Church, and thus save England from the horrors of the threatened interdict. He was also the founder of the well-known Hospital of the Holy Cross, near Winchester. The deed is as follows.

“Sciant p’sentes et futuri q^d Roger’ de Ticheburna quāsi dā terras q̄s clamabat de epo Wint’ tenendas in Aldewica, et Hortuñ, et in Wint’. Omnes quietas reddidit ī manu Hen̄ ep̄i Wint’ p̄ret unā mansurā extra portā de Kinggate qm̄ antecessores sui tenuerūt. Et ipse Hen̄ ep̄s dedit eidē Rogo duas hidas in dominio suo in Ticheburna, quas Rog clamabat tenere ad feudo firmā ita q^d p’ augm̄to duarū hidarū n̄ debet isdem Roger’ facere maj’ serviciū q^m ante faciebat scilicet’ serviciū unī militis et dimid. Test’.—Rad’ archid’ Wint’,—Rob’ archid’ Sur̄, —Riċ vicecom̄ Hamtesir’, —Walt’ de Andel’,—Gaufr’ de Carit’,—Herb’ Pinċna,—Wiffo de Hottot,—Math’o De Scures,—Riċ de Limesi,—Rob’ de Cardvill, Johē de Cardvill, Hugo de Cardvilla,—Heſ de Gundevill,—Johē de Bada,—Gaufr’ fil’ Ate,—Math’o de Wallop,—Steph’o de Benning,—Gaufr’ fil’ Pet’,—Math’o Oisel,—Alexandro de Herierd,—Riċ del Manier,—Rob’ de Pophā,—Gaufr’ de Lyveres,—Gaufr’ de Lovertun,—Walkelino Bruiwerre,—Wif de Walde,—Mansell. Ansketill fit Rob’,—Rob’ des Loges,—Wif de Card’vill,—Wif de Fernehā,—Steph’o fit Wif, —Rob’ fit Coce,—Wif fit Bald’,—Unfr fit Rad’,—Eigard fit Ser̄,—Jocelin,—Rob’ fit Aluſ.”

“Know ye all men present and to come, That I, Roger de Ticheburna, claimed certain lands, held of the bishop of Winchester, in Aldewica and Hortun, and in Winchester. Did grant all quittance into

the hands of Henry, bishop of Winchester, besides a mansion without the gate of 'King Gate',¹ which his ancestors held. And the said bishop Henry granted to the said Roger two hides of his demesne in Ticheburne, which Roger claimed to hold in fee-farm. So that for the addition of two hides, the said Roger should not perform greater service than he performed before, namely, one knight's fee and a-half. Witnesses,—Ralph, archdeacon of Winchester,—Robert, archdeacon of Surrey,—Richard, sheriff of Hampshire,²—Walter de Andell,—Godfrey de Carit,—Herbert the butler (*pincerna*),—William de Hottot,—Mathew de Scures,—Richard de Limesi,³—Robert de Cardvill, John de Cardvill, Hugh de Cardvill,—Helias de Gundevill,—John de Bada,—John the son of Ate,—Mathew de Wallop,—Stephen de Benning,—Geoffrey son of Peter,—Mathew Oisel,—Alexander de Herierd,—Richard de Manier,—Robert de Popham,—Geoffrey de Lyveres,—Geoffrey de l'Overtun,—Walkeline Bruwierre,—William de Walde,—Mansel. Ansketell son of Robert,—Robert des Loges,—William de Cardvill,—William de Ferneham,—Stephen the son of William,—Robert the son of the cook (*cocce*), William the son of Baldwin,—Humphrey the son of Ralph,—Eigard the son of Serl,—Joceline,—Robert the son of Alured."

To this deed (of which a *fac-simile* is given on plate 18) is still appended the seal of Henry de Blois. The im-

¹ Wavel in his *History of Winton* says, that this gate was so called from being built by king John. But here we have proof that it was so called long before that king's reign; a proof, if any be needed, of the valuable information and light that documents of this description can throw upon history. It is over this gate that the parish church of St. Swithin is built. See *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 198, of the Association.

² This attesting witness was Richard the son of Turcinus, sheriff of the county for nine years, from the year 1160 to 1169. See Fuller's *Worthies*.

³ This Richard de Lymersi might have been the father of the lady Mabella; mistakes in Christian names are often met with. I know not upon what authority her father's name is said to have been *Ralph*. His Christian name does not occur in the pedigrees of the Tichborne family or documents. But Worsley and Wotton mention him as Ralph de Lymmerston, which assertion has been followed, I believe, by all subsequent writers. Still some documentary proof on this point is yet requisite. The following remarks on some of the witnesses of De Blois' deed may not prove uninteresting:

Name.	Village.	County.
De Scures	Nateley Scures . . .	Hants
De Wallop (ancestor of earl of Portsmouth)	Wallop	Hants
De Herierde	Herriard	Hants
De Popham (a great Hampshire family)	Popham	Hants
De L'Overtun	Overtun, near Tichborne	Hants
De Ferneham*	Fareham	Hants
De Andel	Andwell	Hants

* Spelt Fernham in *Domesday Book*.



Seal of Henry de Blois, Cardinal Bishop of Winchester and
 Brother to King Stephen. He was Bishop of Winchester
 From A. D. 1129 to 1171.

Francis Joseph Baigent Del^o

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J.R. Jobbins

pression is formed of dark green wax; in shape it is the usual pointed oval, and depicts the bishop in full pontificals, and is inscribed,—✠ HENRICVS DEI GRACIA WINTONIENSIS EPISCOPUS. (See plate 19.¹) It is worthy of notice, that this document tells us that these properties belonged to the ancestors of sir Roger, and that sir Roger, for his lordship of Ticheburne, rendered the service of a knight's fee and a half.

In a letter written nearly two hundred years ago, by the representative of the Tichborne family of that day, lady Mabella, the Lymerston heiress, is thus alluded to: "She was of the blood of the ancient lords proprietors, or rather princes of the Isle of Wight, some of whose lands, and that of her name we yet possess, tho' above five hundred years distant from this time; and many there (*i.e.*, Isle of Wight) pay homage to us even to this day. Her virtues were so admirable that she is said to have wrought some miracles, and so charitable to the poor, as not content to exercise it during her lifetime, but she even entailed it upon her posterity, and left the dole in perpetual memory of it, and after a long and blessed age she died in the opinion of sanctity."

The following constitutes the traditionary legend of the ancient and curious custom known as the TICHBORNE DOLE, above referred to:—

When the lady Mabella, worn out with age and infirmity, was lying on her death-bed, she besought her loving husband, sir Roger de Tycheburna, as her last request, that he would grant her the means of leaving behind her a charitable bequest, in a dole of bread to be distributed to all who should apply for it annually, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Sir Roger readily acceded to the request, by promising the produce of as much land as she could go over in the vicinity of the park while a certain brand or billet was burning, supposing, that from her long infirmity (as she had been bed-ridden for some years), she would be able to go round a small portion only of his property. The venerable dame, however, ordered her attendants to convey her to the corner

¹ This example, hitherto unpublished, is interesting, as belonging to the same period as the seal of St. Thomas of Canterbury, engraved in the *Journal*, vol. x, p. 76.

of the park, where, being deposited on the ground, she seemed to acquire a renovation of strength, and, to the surprise of her anxious and admiring lord, who began to wonder where this pilgrimage might end, she *crawled* round several rich and goodly acres. The field which was the scene of lady Mabella's extraordinary feat and final exertions retains the name of *Crawls* to this day. It is situated near the entrance of the park, and contains an area of twenty-three acres.¹ Her task being completed she was reconveyed to her chamber, when summoning her family to her bedside, she predicted the prosperity of the family while that annual dole existed, and left her malediction on any of her descendants who should be so mean or covetous as to discontinue it, or divert her bounty from the pious purpose to which she had devoted it; prophesying with her expiring breath that when this happened the old house would fall, the name should cease, and the family become extinct from the failure of heirs male, and that this would be foretold by a generation of seven sons being followed immediately after by a generation of seven daughters and no son.

So the lady Mabella was gathered to her fathers, her bones resting in peace within the chancel of the parish church of Tichborne,² erected by the piety and liberality of her husband.³ Centuries rolled on, and the pious ceremony she instituted continued to be observed. The 25th of March became the annual festive day of the family, and the friends and different branches of the house of Tichborne came from far and near to witness and assist at the performance of the good lady Mabella's legacy. So important a feature was it in the annals of the family, that in the year 1670 sir Henry Tichborne, the third baronet, employed Giles Tilburg, an eminent Flemish painter,⁴ to represent the ceremony of the distribution of the bread. The commission was admirably executed. The picture, in

¹ It was surveyed to ascertain its extent, at the request of the writer and a friend, in 1848.

² My friend, the rev. Daniel H. Haigh, has given a brief notice of this church in his *Notes on Churches*, in the proceedings of the Winchester Congress of the Association, p. 411.

³ So inscribed on the monument of sir Benjamin Tichborne, first bart.

⁴ Giles Tilburg, or Tiborgh, was born at Brussels in 1625. He died in 1678, aged 53. His chief forte was in the grouping of his rustic figures, and this painting fully supports his reputation in that respect.

addition to the interest acquired by presenting so many family portraits, is highly valuable as giving a faithful representation of Old Tichborne House as it stood in the days of Charles II, which Camden nearly a century previous had declared to be "a very antient house".¹ It affords me much pleasure at this Congress to be enabled to exhibit a tracing of this interesting painting, which happens scarcely to be known beyond the family circle.²

The scene is represented taking place on the lawn before the west front of the venerable and picturesque old manor house, which is depicted in the background, presenting many features of interest, flanked with wings, and bearing throughout the venerable marks of age. This old house being partially in a state of decay was pulled down in 1803, and the present mansion erected on its site and partly with its materials. It is to be regretted that no representation has been preserved of any portion excepting the west front, though it contained two other strong towers of stone, besides the one represented in the picture. These towers were considered to be of great age by several good antiquaries, including the right rev. Dr. Milner, the well-known architectural essayist and historian of Winchester; and they were generally considered to have been of late Norman erection.³ The body of the house was less ancient, yet old enough to exhibit many characteristics of feudal times and the dark days of recusancy.⁴ On enter-

¹ Camden's *Britannia*, p. 185.

² Upon the marriage of Mary Agnes, the eldest daughter and co-heir of sir Henry Joseph Tichborne, fourth baronet, son of sir Henry Tichborne, with Mr. Michael Blount in 1715, this painting passed into the hands of the family of Blount, of Maple Durham, Oxfordshire; and was re-purchased by the late sir Edward Doughty from the present Mr. Michael Blount in the year 1827, at the nominal price of £400.

³ These towers have been mentioned and described as belonging to the Saxon era. We know fifty years ago this was the name given to Norman work: so have placed them to the period to which they undoubtedly belonged.

⁴ A few years after he had the Dole picture painted, viz., Dec. 6, 1678, sir Henry Tichborne, as a popish recusant, was committed to the Tower by the order of the House of Commons. He says: "his house was not only searched for arms, letters, and commissions, but boards, ceilings, wainscotes pulled down, and the very foundations undermined; nay, the church itself was not spared, but the vaults and the sepulchres of the dead opened, their coffins broken up, and their dry bones flung about, and made seemingly as guilty as those yet living." After being kept a close prisoner for more than eighteen months, without ever knowing what he had done, or undergoing any examination, thinking he might obtain some justice from the common law, he availed himself of a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and was brought before the King's Bench, and was then coldly told he might go home again; which he says he

ing through a massy porch of brickwork a panelled passage presented itself, with the buttery hatch on one side and a row of open arches leading into the baronial hall on the other; a gallery ran round this venerable apartment, the walls were hung with numerous portraits of departed knightly worthies and high-born dames of the house of Tichborne, and pieces of old armour and weapons, that would bring to the recollection many a joust and many a bloody field: a wide cavern of a chimney yawned on one side, having supplied the place of the open fire kindled in the centre of the apartment, the smoke escaping through the open sides of the louvre depicted on the roof of the hall in the dole picture; on the other side, deeply embayed in the thickness of the wall, were two large windows, "whose recesses, as was the fashion of former days, were frequently filled with implements of sylvan sports. At its farther end was the dais; a raised step led to the parlour, and a staircase of black oak conducted to the gallery and the various rooms with which it communicated. A complication of secret passages, apartments, and stairs; a courtyard surrounded by offices, a chapel, and a moat, completed the picture of one of the halls of our forefathers".¹ The house contained upwards of fifty rooms, besides offices; these apartments were hung with different coloured tapestry; one, from its decorations, bore the name of the "gilt-leather room," another, the "king's chamber,"² being the apartment fitted up for king James I during his frequent visits to Tichborne. In his progresses among the seats of the neighbouring nobility and gentry, the king, when wearied with their ceremonious reception and fulsome adulations (many of them making it a point of courtly breeding to disparage all they had as unworthy of his majesty's reception), used to say to his attendants, he would go back to old Ben (sir Benjamin Tichborne) and his honest hospitality, who always professed to provide

was glad to do, since he never expected so much indulgence and kindness from them. But no reparation either of honour, losses, or credit was ever made to him. This may serve to give the reader a little glimpse into the life of one of the representatives of our oldest families in the reign of the "merry monarch", and one who in youth had ventured life and blood for his king and country's cause, suffered the loss of immense estates, and parted with the family plate and jewels on the behalf of royalty.

¹ Duthy's *Sketches of Hampshire—the Itchen*.

² From an inventory taken in the year 1745.

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

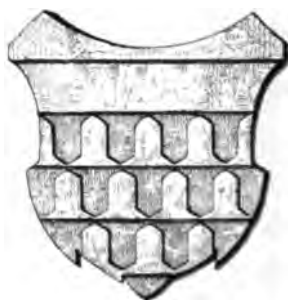


Fig. 3.

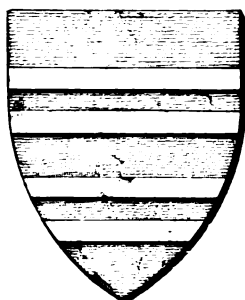


Fig. 4.

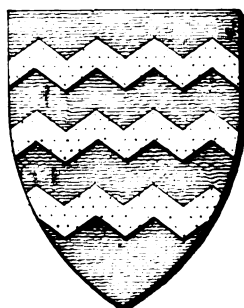


Fig. 5.

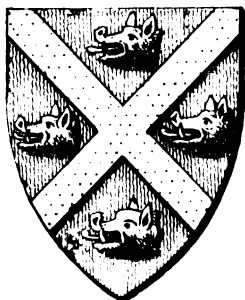
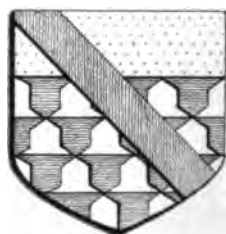


Fig. 6.



Francis Joseph Baigent Del.

the best of everything for his king's entertainment, and pressed him to partake of it with simple and unaffected courtesy. The exterior of the main front had undergone some alterations, which did not entirely correspond with its original character. "About the middle of last century, sash windows had been inserted in the principal apartments, and other repairs executed which, however they might add to domestic comfort, did not harmonize with the general appearance of the venerable old house."¹

"It had seen its glorious days,
And had its hour of pride,
When o'er the drawbridge gallantly
Its warriors were wont to ride;
When silver shield and plume of snow
Were mirror'd in the wave below."

Over the entrance porch was inserted a small stone shield of the family arms, apparently of the time of Henry VII. (See pl. 20, fig. 2.) The chapel or oratory occupied the upper portion and nearly the entire length of the north wing, which was probably erected in the reign of Edward II, as sir John de Ticheborne, on the 1st of March, A.D. 1325, obtained a licence from John Stratford, bishop of Winchester, for the celebration of divine service in his oratory at Ticheburne.

1 Mar. 18, 19 Edw. II (A.D. 1325). "Dñs Johannes de Tichebourne miles, habuit licenciam audiendi divina in oratorio suo de Ticheburne, infra parochiam de Cheriton constructo, dum tamen consensum rectoris ecclesiæ de Cheriton prædictæ habuerit et assensum ac præjudicium dictæ ecclesiæ nullum ex hujus concessione generetur."²

The arch of the pointed doorway beneath the chapel was supported by columns having Decorated, if not Early English capitals. In the centre of the south wing the alcove tower reared its head high above the roof, having beneath it the strong and broadly-built gateway, with its massive

¹ Duthy.

² *E Registro Dñi Dñi Johannis Stratford Episcopi Wintoniensis*. In the establishment of oratories, express care was taken that they should have neither font nor bells, nor anything that might prejudice the mother church. Sometimes the license was granted, "ad audiendam divina in oratorio suo, *pro se et sua familia*". See also the words of the license granted by bishop Brantingham, of Exeter, to sir John and lady Cecilia de Tycheburne, page 299.

portcullis hung in the grooves of stone work above, while close in front was the broad and deepened moat, over which was flung the drawbridge, supported by ponderous chains on either side to raise it at a moment's notice. Safe from the attack of marauders and foes, affording a secure and peaceful asylum to those within—its high-born dames might be seen peeping through the narrow lattice of its windows in deep security; either surveying the waters that surrounded the house, or the green fields beyond,—perchance, the parish church upon yonder hill, within the vaults of which reposed the remains of their ancestors, and which they themselves would one day help to fill. The moat not only surrounded the entire house, but even enclosed a second piece of ground, three or four acres in extent, which afforded, as it were, a double protection to the house. Portions of the moat still exist in the garden at the back of the present mansion.

The numerous figures represented in the painting, standing in front of the house are highly finished, the portraits being executed with the delicacy of miniature painting. In the centre of the picture is depicted sir Henry Tichborne (then in his forty-fourth year), leading by the hand Miss Frances Arundel, eldest daughter and co-heir to sir John Arundel, afterwards lady Bealing;¹ behind stands lady Mary Tichborne (wife to sir Henry), daughter of Charles Arundel, of Horningham, Wilts, and granddaughter to Thomas, the first lord Arundel of Wardour; who captured the Turkish crescent on the walls of Strigonium, and for this gallant deed himself and heirs were made counts of the holy Roman empire. Over the entrance gateway is depicted the arms of Tichborne impaling those of Arundel, with the family motto, *PUGNA PRO PATRIA*, and the lion supporters. The grave gentleman in black holding a glove in his hand is the family chaplain, the rev. Father Robert Hill, a Jesuit; near to him stands the nurse Constancia Atkyns. The two figures behind the nurse are lady Tichborne's maid (Mrs. Chitty) and the housekeeper (Mrs. Robinson). The little boy who points with his hand to the basket of loaves, and seems

¹ She married sir Richard Bealing the following year, secretary to Katherine of Braganza, queen of Charles II. Their son, Richard Bealing, assumed the name and arms of Arundel.

eager for the commencement of the distribution, is Henry Joseph, the baronet's eldest son. The little girl carrying loaves in her apron is Mary Tichborne, who became a Benedictine nun at Pontoise, near Paris; the other child is Leticia Tichborne, children of sir Henry. As to the four figures standing to the left of sir Henry Tichborne, the first is Mr. Mark Arundel, brother to lady Tichborne; the second, Mrs. Ann Tasburgh, sister to sir Henry Tichborne; the third is Mrs. White Tichborne, cousin to the last-named. The remaining figure is sir James Phelps, third baronet, nephew to sir Henry Tichborne. He lived at Stoke Charity, and had evidently ridden thence to Tichborne, for he is duly booted and spurred. A few other friends, and the domestics and servants of the household,—among whom is to be seen black Peter, a Hindoo slave, converted to Christianity and restored to freedom by the bounty of the family,—bearing baskets of eleemosynary bread: a crowd of peasants and villagers in picturesque costume, with "Grumbler," the porter's dog, complete the picture, and convey to the eye an accurate idea of the costume of the aristocracy, domestics, and humble villagers of the time of Charles II.

It was usual to bake about 1,400 loaves for the purpose of the dole, each loaf weighing 1lb. 10oz. avoirdupoise. The weight used for this purpose is still preserved at Tichborne House, being a flat circular piece of lead, stamped on one side, "TICHEBORNE DOLE WEIGHT"; on the other, "FUNDATUM HENRICO REGNANTE SECUNDO". If after the distribution there remained any persons to whom bread had not been given, they received twopence each in lieu thereof. The small red stool depicted in the painting was employed on such occasions to place the money upon. In the year 1792, when the day of the dole happened to fall upon a Sunday, pence to the amount of eight pounds were given away after the distribution of the loaves.

Though the Tichborne dole had existed many centuries, and was doubtless during a great portion of the time a benefit as well as a blessing to the poor, yet it was not until the middle of the last century had passed away that the good intention of the pious foundress was perverted,

and this work of love and charity became the occasion of vice and disorder. "Under the pretence of attending the TICHBORNE DOLE, vagabonds, gipsies, and idlers of every description, assembled from all quarters, trespassing and pilfering throughout the neighbourhood;" and the bread that was given in charity for sustenance, might be seen floating on the waters of the river Itchen. At last, in the year 1796, the gentry and magistrates of the vicinity having represented the inconvenience and abuses of the custom to the worthy baronet then in possession of Tichborne, the dole was discontinued. This was of course followed by some dissatisfaction on the part of those who were wont to assemble on the occasion, "and by many portentous shakings of their empty pates" upheld and vindicated lady Mabella's prophecy, "which sure enough would happen sooner or later". The partial falling down of the old house in 1803 was looked upon as an ominous sign, and a proof of lady Mabella's displeasure. Singularly enough, the baronet of that day himself had seven sons; and again, when his eldest son succeeded him, there appeared a generation of seven fair ladies in the bowers of Tichborne, "the cynosures of neighbouring eyes". The apparent fulfilment of the prophecy was completed by the change of the name of the presumptive heir and late baronet, who under the will of his kinswoman, Miss Elizabeth Doughty, assumed by the king's sign manual, in 1826, the name of Doughty only. His only son having died in 1835, Mr. Doughty requested his brother, sir Henry Joseph Tichborne, to restore the DOLE, but with certain restrictions; and it is now given in the shape of flour to the poor of the village of Tichborne only; a few years afterwards another heir was born, Alfred Joseph, son of the present worthy proprietor, sir James Francis Doughty Tichborne, tenth baronet of Tichborne.

From this lengthened digression, we will turn our attention again to the lady of Lymerston. Sir Roger and lady Mabella left two sons, and a daughter named Phillipa. The eldest son, sir Walter de Tycheburne, knight, had two sons likewise. The eldest, sir Roger de Tichbourne, who died without issue, executed a deed of acquittance of all claim, right, or title, for himself and his heirs for ever, to the chapel of Lymerston and its chaplains, in the land of

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Francis Joseph Baigent, Del.

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J.R. Jobbins

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

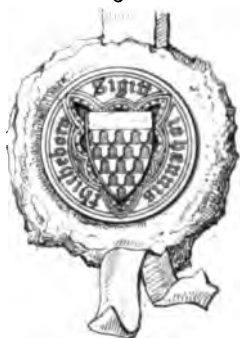


Fig. 3.



Langred,¹ given to the aforesaid chapel by his uncle Geoffrey de Tycheburne, the second son of lady Mabella.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Rogerus de Tichbourne concessi, remisi et quietam clamavi pro me et heredibus meis capellæ S^c — de Lymerston, et omnibus capellanis ibidem p'dictæ capell' deservientibus omne jus et clamen quod habui vel habere potuero in tota terra cum pertinentiis in Langred quam Galfridus de Tycheburne avunculus meus quondam dedit p'dictæ capellæ et capellanis ibidem p'dict' capell' deservientibus.—Habend' et tenend' in perpetuum p'dict' capellæ et omnibus capellanis deservientibus absque ullo jure retenemento mei vel heredum meorum in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. H^{is} TESTIBUS—Dño Willmō de Insula,²—Dño Jordano de Insula,—Jordano de Kingston,³—Waltero de Rumbrigg,—Thomo de Blakepannes,⁴—Gilb'to de Langred,—Rob'to le Carperter, hoc scriptum composuit, et multis aliis."

The impression of the seal appended to this deed is formed of yellow wax. Sir Roger is represented on horseback, wearing over his chain armour a long surcoat, holding uplifted in his right hand his sword, and on the bridle arm is a concave shield, charged with the arms of Ticheborne—vaire, a chief *or*: round the margin of the shield is inscribed, in Lombardic characters, s' ROGERI: DE: TICHBOVRNE. (See pl. 21, fig. 1.) This sir Roger de Tichbourne died in or before the 12 Edw. I, A.D. 1283.

The following return concerning the Lymerston chapel and chantry, made in the year 1305 by the dean of the island to Henry Woodlock, bishop of Winchester, informs us that Martin was at that time the warden of the chapel, and three plough lands belonged to the chantry, on which resided the three chaplains of the oratory:

"Martino custos capelle de Lemerston; et sunt assignat 3 caruce terre Cantuar'æ dic' capelle, in qua residere debent et resident 3 capellani deservientes dic' capelle."

¹ Langrede, or Languard, is a manor in the parish of Brading, Isle of Wight. It is mentioned in the *Domesday Book* as *Langreston*, and was at that time held by William the son of Azor.

² This sir William de Insula was the son and heir of Galfrid de Insula, who died the 36 Hen. III (A.D. 1252), and brother to the sir Jordan de Insula, who also is named as a witness.

³ Jordan de Kingston died seised of the entire manor of Kingston, Isle of Wight. 24 Edw. I, A.D. 1295. *Inquis. Post Mortem*.

⁴ Blakepann is the name of a manor near Shanklin, in the Isle of Wight, and in the 34 Edw. I (A.D. 1305), belonged to John de Insula, de Woodington.

The Tichborne family being the patrons of the chapel, always had the appointment of its chaplains: thus it is recorded in bishop Woodlock's register, that in the year 1306 sir John de Tychebourn presented Richard de Hauman, M.A., to the vacancy in the chapel of Lymerston, in the Isle of Wight, who was duly instituted by the bishop on the 15th of April in the same year.

In the reign of Edward III the oratory furnished one bowman or archer as its quota, in the body of men raised for the defence of the island.

Among the entries on the Patent Rolls, 12 Edw. I, A.D. 1283, is an acknowledgment of the homage and service rendered to the crown by John de Tichborne, grandson of the heiress of Lymerston, who succeeded his brother sir Roger de Tichbourne, for the land in Wippingham pertaining to the manor of Swineston,¹ and the manor Lemreston, in the Isle of Wight; also that the service for the manor of Tichborne belonged to the bishop of Winchester and his successors.

*Patent de anno, 12 Edw. I. "Quod homagium et servitium dimid' feod' milit' in Wippingham quod pertinet ad manerium de Swineston, etc., ac homagium et servitium dimid' feodi milit' quod Joh'nes de Tichborne tenet in Lemreston infra Insulam de Wight remaneant reg' in feodo ut ad manerium regis de Swineston; ac quod servitium ejusdem Joh'nis de terr' quam tenet in prædicto episcopo extra eandam insulam remaneat eidem episcopo in successione."*²

Sir John de Tichbourne married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Roger Sifrewast,³ a noted family in Dorsetshire and the west of England, whose large possessions by this marriage passed into the hands of the Tichbornes; their armorial bearings were—*azure*, four bars-gemelles, *argent*. (See pl. 20, fig. 3.) He was succeeded by his son

¹ This was the time when the manor (Swineston), which had hitherto belonged to the see of Winchester, passed into the hands of the crown. Bishop John de Pontissara surrendered it, and paid a fine of £2000 to the king for confirming to him the temporalities of his bishopric. It is now the property and seat of sir John Simeon, bart.

² *E Calendario Rotulorum Patentium, in Turri Lond.*

³ After the death of sir John de Tichbourne she married Thomas Durant, and died in the year 1337, seized of the manor of Catteshanger, co. of Hants; and Roger de Tichebourne, then aged twenty-three years, was her heir; and paid homage to the king for the above-named manor, which was held *in capite*. This Roger was the son and heir of Roger de Tichebourne and Katherine Loveday.

sir John de Ticheborne, a person of great eminence in the reigns of Edw. I, II, and III: serving in several parliaments as a knight of the shire for Southampton, and held repeatedly the office of high sheriff in the counties of Hants, Wilts, and Dorset. He was appointed constable and warder of the king's castle of Old Sarum, 8th October, 15 Edward II (A.D. 1321), and was also one of the king's justices itinerant. In the 6 Edw. II (A.D. 1312) he obtained from that noble-minded monk, Henry Woodlock or de Merewell, bishop of Winchester,¹ the following charter, being a grant of all the fishery of his river at Tycheburne and Cheriton, from the meadow of Ellesford to Putebrugg (Petts-bridge²). The said sir John de Ticheborne and his heirs paying annually two shillings on the feast of St. Michael (Sept. 29) to the bishop and his successors, the bishops of Winchester, for the aforesaid rights, the same to be inheritable for ever; consequently it is enjoyed by his descendants to the present day. Should, however, the bishop or any of his successors happen to be passing through, or tarrying at their manor of Cheriton, they were to be permitted to take a fishing or to fish in said fishery.

“Sciunt presentes et futuri quod nos Frater Henricus permissione divina Wynton' episcopus dedimus, concessimus, et hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Dño Johanni de Ticheborn militi, totam piscariam riparie nostre de Chiriton et Tycheburn a prato de Ellesford usque ad pontem qui vocatur 'Putebrugg' que quidem piscaria pertinebat ad manerium nostrum de Cheriton. Habend' et tenend' dictam piscariam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis dicto Johi et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris Wynton' episcopis libere vere et in pace ac jure hereditario inperpetuum. Ita tamen quod si contingat nos seu successores nostros episcopos transitum habere per manerium nostrum Cheriton, licebit nos et ballivos nostros in dicta piscaria piscari presenti dono nostro non obstante dum ibidem moram fecerimus reddendo nobis et successoribus nostris Wynton' episcopis inde annuatim duos solidos in

¹ He was the thirty-first prior of Winchester, ten years after his election, viz., in 1305, the see being vacant by the death of John de Pontissara. On this occasion, for the first and only time, the monks unanimously chose their own prior to be their bishop. He proved himself a zealous and upright prelate, and ever esteemed his cowl to be more precious than his mitre; and was wont to be called and always styled himself *Brother Henry*. He died at Farnham in 1316, and lies buried at the foot of the steps of the choir in his own cathedral church and monastery.

² Its present name, and the meadow is now called Ellford. Many still call the bridge Putt-bridge.

festo S'cti Michaelis pro omnibus servitiis secularibus exactionibus et demandis. Et nos predictus Henricus et successores nostri Wynton' episcopi predicto Johi et heredibus suis predictam piscariam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis warantizabimus ac defendimus pro predicto servitio in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus duximus apponend's. Hiis Testibus—Dñis Johē de Popham,—Jacobus de Norton,—Ricō de Stratton, militibus,—Waltō Wodel,—Ricō de Tistede,—Will'o de Overton,—Nich'o de Ichene, et aliis. Dat apud Merewell die Jovis prox' post festum s'cte Agathe virginis, anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi sexto, et consecrationis nostre octavo."

The seal is a pointed oval, having an obverse and reverse, of high finish, elegant both in design and execution. The obverse has beneath a triangular-headed canopy (without shafts) a beautifully executed figure, in high relief, of the bishop in full pontificals, in the attitude of benediction, holding in his left hand his pastoral staff. On either side of the figure, within a cusped compartment, is represented the head of a saint; below the compartments is H. II, to indicate that he was the second of that Christian name. Round the margin is inscribed: FRAT: HENRICVS: DEI: GRACIA: WINTONIENSIS: EP'VS. "BROTHER HENRY BY THE GRACE OF GOD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER." On the reverse is depicted a canopied compartment of five niches, in three tiers. The upper one presents the figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child; below this are the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; and in the lower tier the bishops St. Birinus and St. Swithin, all of whom are patrons of the see. Below is a profile figure of the bishop himself at prayer. Round the margin is inscribed: SIT: XPO: GRATVS: HENRICI: PONTIFICATVS. "MAY THE PRELACY OF HENRY BE ACCEPTABLE TO CHRIST."

The accompanying engraving (pl. 22, fig. 3) depicts the seal of this sir John de Ticheborne, and is said to have been appended to a deed, dated the 15 Edw. II (A.D. 1322). It is highly interesting as a fine specimen of an heraldic seal in the early part of the fourteenth century, and exhibiting almost, if not actually, the earliest instance of the use of supporters, being precisely the same as those borne by the family to this day, the use of which is well known to be one of the distinguished privileges of the house of Tichborne. It represents a shield, charged with the arms of Tichborne—vaire, a chief, or, and two lions rampant

guardant (*gules*) as supporters; above the shield is the tilting helm with mantling, surmounted by a wreath bearing the family crest—a hind's head (*proper*) between a pair of wings (*gules*); round the margin of the seal, in Lombardic letters, is inscribed: s': IOHANNIS: DE: TICHEBORNE: Sir John died about the 11 Edw. III (A.D. 1337), and was succeeded by his grandson, Roger de Tychebourne, the only son and heir of Roger de Tycheborne, his eldest son, and Katharine Loveday, one of the sisters and co-heiresses of Richard Loveday, and youngest daughter of Roger Loveday¹ and Sibilla his wife. In 1313, bishop Woodlock granted him for services performed, an annual pension of five marks sterling, the same to be paid yearly on the feast of St. Michael.² This Roger de Tycheborne was living in 1326, but died in his father's lifetime, *ante* 1338. Several manors belonging to the Loveday family in the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge thus passed into the possession of the Tichbornes. Their armorial bearings were—*azure*, three bars dancettée, *or*. (See pl. 20, fig. 4.)

Richard de Tycheborne, the second son of sir John de Ticheborne, married, about the year 1312, Alicia, daughter and co-heir of John de la Hode, lord of the manor of West Tisted, county of Hants. He took the name of his wife's inheritance, and was called Richard de Tistede. From this it may be seen, even as late as the reign of Edward II, the facility with which surnames might be changed for that of a new inheritance: thus in a few generations all connexion with the parent stock might become obliterated from the memory of man, and drifted down the stream of time without a single record. In bringing forward this instance, I acknowledge it to be at variance with the assertions of genealogical writers and pedigrees, for they state that it was *his son* who first assumed the name of De Tistede. But a short time since, I met with two entries in the *Originalia Records* of the 8 Edw. II (A.D. 1314),

¹ This Roger Loveday died in the year 1296; and his only son, Richard Loveday, died *s. p.* in the 12 Edw. II (A.D. 1318), leaving as heirs his four sisters, viz., Margaret, then aged thirty years; Anne, the wife of Richard Hakoun, aged twenty-eight; Eleanor, aged twenty-six; and Katherine, married to Roger de Tycheborne, aged twenty-four. See *Inquis. post Mortem*, et *Originalia Rot.*

² *Memo.* q^d v die Septembr', "Dñs concessit Rogero filio Dñi Johi de Ticheborne, militi", etc.—*E Registro Hen. Woodlock Epi' Wynton'*.

which place beyond dispute, that the husband of Alicia de la Hode was known as Richard de Tistede; moreover, his name is recorded two years earlier as *Richard de Tistede*, as one of the witnesses in the fishery grant of bishop Woodlock, or de Merewell.

Walter, the third son of sir John de Ticheborne, married Agatha, the other daughter and co-heir of John de la Hode, who, although he enjoyed a portion of the manor of West Tisted, still retained the name of Tycheborne, and died seised of it 20 Edw. III (A.D. 1346).¹ Elizabeth de Ticheborne, the only daughter of sir John, was a nun at the royal Benedictine abbey of Wherwell, Hants.²

Roger de Tycheburne, who succeeded his grandfather, sir John de Ticheborne, obtained, in 1338, the consent of Adam de Orlton, bishop of Winchester (from A.D. 1333 to 1345), to found a perpetual chantry in the chapel of his manor at Tycheburne, wherein divine service should be celebrated for the repose of his own soul, the souls of his father and mother, his ancestors and successors, and for all the faithful departed.³

“Convenit inter fratrum Walterum⁴ priorum Ecclesie Sancte Marie de Selburne et ejusdem loci conventum Wynton’ Diocēs ex parte una et Rogerum de Tycheburne filium et heredem Dñi Johannis de Tycheburne militis nuper defuncti ex altera. Quod cum idem Rogerus de consensu Venerabilis Patris Dñi Adæ Dei gratia Wynton’ epī ordinaverit unam perpetuam cantuariam in capella manerii sui de Tycheburne ad quam faciendum unum capellanum seu presbyterum idoneum in dictâ capellâ divinâ celebrantur pro animâ dicti Rogeri et animabus patris et matris ejusdem antecessorum et successorum suorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum in perpetuum. Idem Rogerus de Tycheburne et heredes sui

¹ *Calendarium. Inquis. post Mortem.* The manor of West Tisted is still in possession of the Tichborne family, having reverted to the elder branch about 1436, by virtue of an entail made in 1402, dated at West Tisted the Thursday before the feast of St. John at the Latin Gate (May 6), 3 Hen. IV.

² “Cœpit velam castitatis et fuit monialis apud Whorwell in com. Sutht’.” —*Family Muniments.*

³ Sir Roger de Tycheburne rewarded the prior and convent with the gift of a messuage, etc., in Le Rode, Hants, the 12 Edw. III, A.D. 1338.

⁴ Walter de Insula, elected prior of Selburne in the year 1324, and was confirmed in office by John de Stratford, bishop of Winchester. He held office till the year 1339, and was succeeded by John de Winton. The priory was of the Augustine order, and founded in the reign of Hen. III by Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester. In 1462 its revenues were sequestered by bishop Waynflete, the founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, and were in 1486 annexed to that foundation.

qui de manerio de Tycheburne dñi fuerint sint et nominentur veri patroni cantuarie predicte."

This grant or permission was confirmed by the bishop at Waltham, May 4th, A.D. 1339.¹ In the following month, sir Roger, by a deed dated June 24, 1339, appointed John Kyrle, priest, as chaplain to the aforesaid chantry, who was duly instituted by the bishop. In the 20 Edw. III (A.D. 1346), sir Roger de Tycheburne paid forty shillings scutage for every knight's fee he possessed, at the making of the king's eldest son (the Black Prince) a knight. The manor of Lymerston is found rated at half a knight's fee, and accordingly he paid for the same the sum of twenty shillings.

He was succeeded by his only son sir John de Tycheburn, knight, who married Cecilia, sole daughter and heiress of sir Adam de Rake, of the county of Devon, knight. This sir John debruised his paternal arms with a bend *gules*, and used in place of the recognized family crest, a wing charged with his armorial bearings, on a chapeau. Pl. 20, fig. 6, represents these arms as depicted in the herald's visitation of the county of Hants.² The reason that has been assigned for this variation of the family arms, was that he was a knight in the lifetime of his father sir Roger de Tycheburne, and that thus it was necessary to distinguish them apart,—the debruising of the shield, and the change of crest, appeared sufficiently accounted for; and those who have turned their attention to ancient heraldic distinctions, know that the *bend* was frequently used as a mark of cadency. This view I entirely countenanced and supported, and have every reason to believe I originated it; however, a few weeks since, I was fortunate enough to meet with a piece of evidence, that completely crushes the previous solution respecting the origin of these differences in his armorial bearings. Anxious to throw even the smallest gleam of light upon the ancient manner of bearing arms, I am induced to

¹ This chantry consisted of the north aisle of the parish church of Tichborne, and continues to this day the property of the family. In the year 1688, the family vaults, which extended under the entire chancel and nave of the church, being full, a new vault was erected beneath this aisle, occupying its entire length, and used by the family as their burial-place to this day.

² Harleian MS., No. 1544, in the British Museum.

bring forward a new theory relative to these armorial bearings, and have every reason to conclude it will not only be correct, but at the same time illustrate the retaining of a custom not unusual at an earlier period, though it has been almost forgotten. It unquestionably presents an interesting field for inquiry, though one of much difficulty, viz., the betokening of alliance by additional bearings.

On the 18th of April, 1349, it appears from an entry in the episcopal register of William de Edyngton, bishop of Winchester from 1345 to 1366, that he instituted Thomas de Longestoke, priest, to the chantry of the chapel of the manor of Roger de Tycheburne, deceased, then vacant, etc., and in the hands of the bishop for this time, by reason of the minority and guardianship of John, the son and heir of the said sir Roger de Tycheburne. From this it may be seen, that in 1349 the father of this sir John de Tycheburne was deceased, and himself a minor. About the year 1363 he married Cecilia de Rake. In 1365, he styles himself John de Tycheburne, knight, son and heir of Roger de Tycheburne, and acknowledges to have received of John de Lysle and Adam de Rake, knights, sixty marks sterling (£40), in part payment of one hundred, wherein they had been bound to him, which receipt is dated at Woodington, in the Isle of Wight, on Thursday, the morrow of St. George the Martyr (April 24), the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Edw. III.

“Pateat universis per presentes quod ego Johannes de Tycheburne miles, filius et heres Rogeri de Tychebourn recepi et habui de Johanne de Lysle¹ et Ada de Rake, militibus, sexaginta marcas stiling in parte solutionis centum marcarum in quibus per scriptum suum obligaturum mihi tenebantur prout in dicto scripto planius apparet pro solutione videlicet cum annorum, de quo quidem vero sexaginta marcarum fateor me esse solutum, et predictos Johannem et Adam fore quietus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Dat apud Woditum in Vecta Insula die jovis in crastino Georgii martyris, anno regni Edwardi tertii a conquestu tricesimo nono.”

¹ The sir John de Lysle mentioned in this document, was lord of Woodington, in the Isle of Wight; the son and heir of sir Bartholomew Lysle and the lady Elizabeth Courtney his wife. He died the 45 Edw. III, A.D. 1371. The monumental brass of his son and heir, sir John Lysle, knight, who lies buried in the chancel of the church of the Holy Cross, Thruxton, Hants, may be seen described by Mr. J. G. Waller, in vol. iii, p. 240, of the *Journal of the Association*.

To this deed is appended the seal, with the before-mentioned armorial bearings and crest, and is inscribed round the margin, s' IOHAN'IS: DE: TYCHEBVRN. (See pl. 22, fig. 1.) • The sir Adam de Rake mentioned in this document was his father-in-law, who appears to have died before the year 1374, as at that time sir John de Tycheburne and his wife had inherited his several manors in the county of Devon, and they obtained, on the 23rd of November the same year, a license from Thomas de Brantynham, bishop of Exeter from A.D. 1370 to 1394, to have divine service celebrated in the chapel of their manor of Breyn-ton, now in Exminster parish, but at that time forming a portion of the parish of Ken.

“Item. xxij die mensis Novembris Año Dñi m^occc^{mo}.lxxiiij^{to}. Dominus concessit licentiam dño Johanni Tycheburne militi et ejus uxori, quod possint facere celebrari divina in presentia eorundem, seu eorum alterius in capellâ de Breyn-ton in parochiâ de Ken.”¹

To return to the armorial bearings of this sir John de Tycheburne. I believe the addition made to his family arms was intended for no other purpose or object than to show or betoken his alliance with the heiress of the De Rake family: who bore for their arms,—*gules*, a saltire between four boar-heads, *or*. (See pl. 20, fig. 5.) A bend is simply half of a saltire, the change in the original tincture may be explained, by its having to pass partially over the golden chief of the Tichbornes, and thus altered for the tincture of the field of the De Rake arms. Could any evidence be found as to the crest pertaining to this family (De Rake), I have no doubt it would turn out to have been a wing on a chapeau, and that perhaps charged with the arms, or the De Rake saltire.

This sir John de Tycheburn and Thomas Wayte, who then held a share in the Lymerton estate, contributed four archers towards the defence of the island in the reign of Edw. III.

Sir John de Tycheburn died before the year 1385, and left an only son named John, a minor, and by his death the marriage and wardship of his lands fell into the hands of the bishop of Winchester. On the feast of the Epiphany (Jan. 6), A.D. 1385, John de Tycheburne, his son

¹ *E Registro domini domini Thomæ de Brantyngham Exoniensis Episcopi.*

and heir, appeared before the celebrated William de Wykeham, who then held the see of Winchester; and having proved he had completed his twenty-first year, the bishop granted him the livery of all his rights with their appurtenances. This grant of livery is dated at the manor of Esher, in Surrey, the 8th day of January, 8 Rich. II (A.D. 1385).

By a deed dated at Ticheborne on the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 10 Hen. IV (25th April, 1409), in which he is styled John Tichebourne, knight, he grants to William Warner, his servant, for his good services performed, all his lands, tenements, woods, meadows, rents, and services, with a water-mill in Dorsetshire, which his late father, sir John de Tichebourne, knight, purchased of John Gille, at Mulle, and Alice his wife, in the parish of Morden, in that county.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes Tichebourne militis dedi et concessi, etc. Willielmo Warner serventi meo pro bono servicio mihi impenso omnia terras et tenementa mea, boscos, prata, redditas, et servicia . . . molendinum meum aquaticum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis in comitatu Dorset' qñe nuper Johannes Tichebourne pater meus miles perquisivit de Johanne Gille atte Mulle et Alicia uxore ejus in parochia de Morden in comitatu predictæ, etc. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti cartæ sigillum meum apposui. Hiis Testibus—Willielmo Overton,—Thoma Wayte,—Ricardo Tistede,—Petro Alresford,—Edmundo Marshal, et aliis. Dat apud Ticheborne in festo S'ci Marci Evangelie, anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie decimo."

An impression of his seal is appended. It exhibits the old arms and crest of the Tichbornes with the lion supporters, and is inscribed round its margin, SIGILLUM JOHAN'IS TICHEBOURNE. (See pl. 21, fig. 2.) Besides the seal appended to this document, I have recently met with, among the muniments of Winchester College, a smaller seal of this sir John Ticheborne, being the one he used previous to his receiving the honour of knighthood, which occurred at the coronation of Henry IV, A.D. 1399. It consists simply of a shield with the Tichborne arms, *vaire a chief, or*, placed within a cusped panel, and inscribed round its margin, SIGILL' IOHANNIS THICHEBORNE. This is the only instance yet discovered of the name being spelt in this singular

manner, "*Thicheborne*". Two impressions exist, and are appended to deeds dated the 15th and 18th Ric. II (A.D. 1391-4). (See plate 22, fig. 2). From both these seals it may be seen the son had discontinued bearing the arms used by his father.

The next instance I have met with of the winged crest charged with the family arms is in 1603, in the armorial bearings of sir Richard Tichborne, knight, eldest son of sir Benjamin Tichborne, the first baronet; he bore this crest¹ both in his father's lifetime and afterwards. A large carving of his arms in wood with this crest, charged with the family arms, on a chapeau, with the date, anno D'ni 1631, is still preserved in the lobby of Tichborne House. This sir Richard was the father of the sir Henry Tichborne represented in the dole painting, who took early to arms in defence of his sovereign, and with his father, sir Richard Tichborne, and his uncle, sir Benjamin Tichborne, of West Tisted, fought on behalf of king Charles I at the battle of Cheriton, March 29th, 1644. The estates of sir Richard were ordered to be sold by a rump-act in 1652, but dying about that time, his widow and his son, sir Henry, conveyed the wreck of the family estates into the hands of trustees for the term of sixty years, not only to avert, if possible, the impending storm and evade the laws of recusancy, but likewise to discharge the *debts* incurred by his father in behalf of the royal cause. Among the estates so conveyed were the manors of Muggleston and Lymerston, in the Isle of Wight.

Time does not permit of my tracing further the descendants of the heiress of Lymerston, or noticing various alliances, and virtuous conduct, which have distinguished the house of Tichborne. I must, therefore, content myself with remarking that the estate of Lymerston continued in possession of the Tichborne family till after the middle of

¹ This winged crest has been erroneously ascribed or assigned to lord Tichborne, baron Ferrard of Ireland, a descendant of sir Henry Tichborne, knight, the fourth and youngest son of sir Benjamin, the first bart. The family claim the use of both crests, viz., the hind's head *ppr.* between a pair of wings, *gules*; on a *chapeau* a wing charged with the arms—*vair*, a chief, *or.* I will here allude to an error that occurs in the various Baronetages, and other genealogical works, in respect to this family. They all omit the rev. sir John Hermingild Tichborne, s. j., who became the fifth bart. of Tichborne, July 15, 1743, and died at Brussels, May 5, 1748. Thus each subsequent baronet has been wrongly numbered.

the last century, when the grandfather of the present baronet sold it to George Stanley, esquire, the father of the right hon. Hans Stanley, who devised it to his sisters, and it is now in the possession of Sloane Stanley, esquire, of Paultons, in the county of Hants.

Much perhaps has been attempted in this paper, though but little accomplished, still the least thing done to revive the shadowy records of the past may not be regarded as altogether unworthy of attention. With the writer it is a work of love, and love is truly said to make all things light; so he cares little for the toil, if he can only succeed in bringing to the memory and impress upon the minds of others pleasing recollections of past ages,—of the piety, virtues, and noble deeds of those, who were then numbered among the living in that stirring time—

“Of chivalry and song,
When the bright spear was put in rest,
And the right arm was strong;
When minstrel's meed and ladye's glove,
Were the high rewards of war and love.”

ON A SCULPTURED SLAB, OF THE ELEVENTH OR TWELFTH CENTURY, IN SHALFLEET CHURCH, ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY J. E. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., HON. SEC.

I BEG to call the attention of the members of the British Archæological Association to a very interesting relic of the early Anglo-Norman period, which I might almost say was discovered by us during our late congress at the Isle of Wight: at any rate, I cannot find that it has ever been noticed publicly; and from all that I could gather upon the spot, it does not appear to have elicited any remark from previous visitors to the church of Shalfleet, out of the graveyard of which, we were informed, it was dug up some

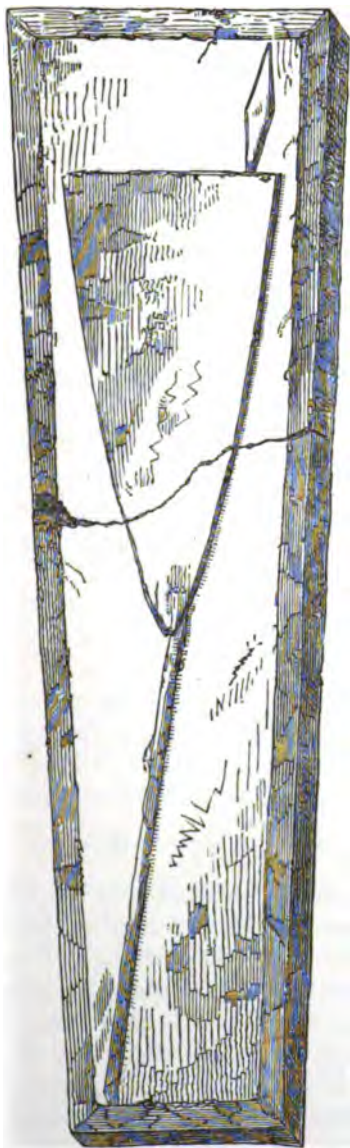
few years ago, and deposited, where it now lies, on the south side of the chancel.

It is a sculptured stone slab of the eleventh or, at the latest, of the early part of the twelfth century, the plane surface measuring five feet ten inches in length, fifteen inches at the head, and eleven inches at the foot, and sculptured, with the long shield of the period laid above the spear in a most classical fashion. Later specimens of this class of sepulchral monuments, and sculptured and incised slabs, bearing the shields and swords of the warriors who once reposed beneath them, are of frequent occurrence, and have been repeatedly engraved. In our own *Journal* there are several specimens with swords by the side of crosses (vide vol. ii, pp. 257-258);¹ but I have never met with any resembling the very ancient and curious one of which I now exhibit a rubbing taken by our friend Mr. Black. The shield is of the long, kite form, borne by the early Normans, but square-headed, as some are to be seen in the set of chessmen of the twelfth century found in the Isle of Lewes. It is also apparently flat, as they are, and not more or less cylindrical, as they become towards the close of the twelfth century. There is no trace of any date or inscription, and no tradition, to give the least clue to the warrior it was intended to commemorate. It has been broken in two, the fracture passing across the centre; but whether previous to its discovery, or in the process of exhumation or removal, I could not learn. Nor have I any data on which I could hazard an opinion, either that it was originally placed without or within the old Norman church, though I lean to the latter suggestion as the most probable, considering the class it belongs to. Still less can I presume to appropriate it to any individual amongst the Norman possessors of the manor, the earliest of whom on record was Gocelin Fitz Azor, who held it at the time of the great survey. It did not, however, long continue in that family, but passed, perhaps by marriage, into that of Trenchard. The Trenchards, says sir Richard Worsley, came probably into the island when Richard de Redvers

¹ Vide also *Archæological Journal* for 1847 and 1848, for other varieties; amongst them the incised slabs of Odard de Broham, exhibiting a round shield as well as the sword; and the "founder's tomb in Gilling church, Yorkshire", a heater-shaped one placed over the sword.

had the lordship, as the oldest accounts inform us that earl Richard gave to Pagan Trenchard the manor of Hordhall near Lymington, in the county of Southampton, which the family continued to hold, with Shalfleet, for several generations. In the oldest pipe roll also (6th of Stephen), Pagan Trenchard appears as charged with the levy of dane-geld in the Isle of Wight; at which period king Stephen had dispossessed Baldwin de Redvers, son of earl Richard, of the lordship of the island. The slab is certainly of the period during which Pagan Trenchard flourished and died, and it is, consequently, possible it may have marked the place of his interment; but I limit myself to the assertion of the possibility, as I repeat that I have no evidence to justify any stronger expression.

To all those who take an interest in the sepulchral monuments of the middle ages, this relic of the Norman period will be an object of curiosity; and I feel much gratification in being accessory to its record and representation in our *Journal* (see pl. 23). But what will not only that particular class of antiquaries, but archæologists in general, say to the story I have to tell of another sepulchral monument in the adjacent parish of Calbourne? In the church of that parish, recently *restored*, as it is amusingly called, through the liberality of sir John Simeon, is the fine brass of a knight of the time of Edward III, or Richard II, of which I also exhibit a rubbing made by Mr. Black. To the eye of the casual observer this brass, and the marble slab into which it is let, both also broken through the centre, would appear to occupy their original position, in the pavement on the south side of the centre aisle of the building. It will scarcely be credited that the restorers of this venerable edifice, finding this slab supported by four small columns of Purbeck marble, actually dismounted it, and inserted the columns in the window of a new chapel thrown out on the opposite side, in a style of architecture totally at variance with that of the original building! I leave Mr. Davis to deal with the architect. My charge is brought, on the authority of the person who showed us the church,—the sexton, I believe,—against “the contractors”, as he called them, who not only destroyed the monument, but took away, as “old material”, the ornamental brass-work which formed the canopy over the head of the figure. May we



SCULPTURED SLAB IN SHALFLEET CHURCH.

not inquire whether the brass fillets, which most probably recorded the name of the knight, and the date of his decease, etc., had disappeared previously? I feel assured that neither sir John Simeon nor the rev. incumbent would have sanctioned such a desecration, had they been consulted on the subject; and that when munificently providing funds for the restoration of the church, it was not thought necessary to stipulate that a few strips of old brass, invaluable to the antiquary, should not be included in "the old material" the contractors were licensed to deal with as their property. The slab itself, fractured in its removal, for some time reclined against the wall of the south aisle; but was eventually laid down in the pavement where we found it. The brass, unnoticed by sir Richard Worsley, or Warner, is engraved in Brettel's *Handbook to the Isle of Wight*, 12mo., 1848, p. 149, in which it is described as being at the north-east of the aisle, on "a raised tomb", and placed north and south, contrary to the usual method of burial; but no intimation is given of the person to whom it was erected. The woodcut *proves* that the canopy was then in existence.

INVESTIGATION INTO THE RUDE PIT HABITATIONS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS

IN GALLIBURY AND ROWBOROUGH, ISLE OF WIGHT.

BY THE REV. EDMUND KELL, M.A., F.S.A.

THE vestiges of the ancient British villages of Gallibury and Rowborough, in the Isle of Wight, are among the most interesting relics of the habitations of our forefathers yet disclosed by antiquarian research. The locality, in secluded valleys embosomed by high downs, and girt with defences both natural and artificial, is picturesque and romantic in a high degree. They lie about four miles, in a south-westerly direction, from Newport, and are reached by a lane branching from the high road to Shorwell, by Rowborough farm-house. This collection of ancient British pits may be regarded as constituting two villages, divided by natural boundaries, though connected by the interme-

diat pits and defences on the downs. In their several collocations, being disposed nearly in a row, they resemble many of the pits in the neighbourhood of Whitby, described by Dr. Young¹ as British villages, as well as those of the British village called the Pit Steads, near Crich in Derbyshire, mentioned by our associate, Mr. Bateman.² But at Gallibury and Rowborough there are none of the *double* rows of pits described by these antiquaries, which may, perhaps, be accounted for by the character of the ground—a narrow valley, which renders the single row more convenient.

The word Gallibury means the village of the Galli, the name of the former Celtic inhabitants. The Welsh are still designated the "Galles". "Burg", in the Celtic, signifies "village". The terms "burg", "bury", and "borough", may be derived from the inhabitants "burrowing", or making holes in the ground for their habitations. The name of Rowborough seems to be derived from the position of the habitations in a row,—the borough (or village) in a row. It may be conjectured that the Celtic word *stread*, the root of the Latin *stratum* and Saxon *stræt*, may also be derived from these LINEAR habitations of our British ancestors. The pits at Gallibury and Rowborough are generally farther apart than those in Yorkshire: their diameter varying from 15 feet by 15, to 55 feet by 46; their central depth varies from one to seven feet, the average being about three feet. I have taken the dimensions of the sixty forming these villages, and measured their relative distances, in order that they may be more readily compared with other ancient British settlements. Some of these pits are round, the majority oval, whilst a few seem to be double pits. In taking the measurement of the ground and pits, I was ably and kindly assisted by William and Henry Mortimer, esqrs., surveyors, Newport, to the former of whom I am indebted for the accompanying illustrative map (see pl. 24).

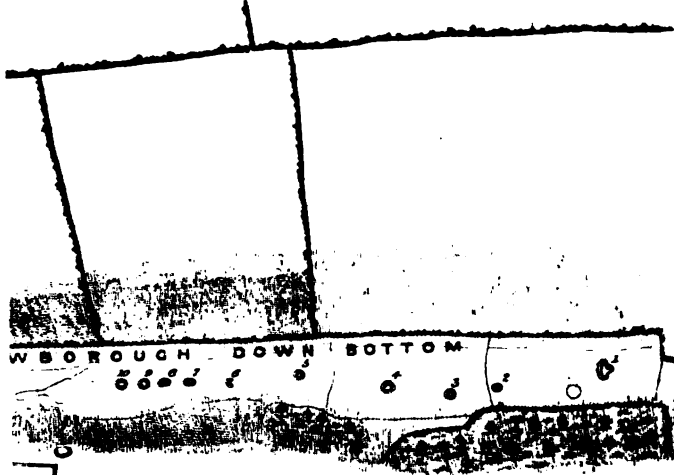
Table of the Dimensions and Situation of the Pits of the ancient British Villages of Gallibury and Rowborough.

No.	Diameter,		Depth,		Situation.
	feet	feet.	feet	ins.	
1 .	55	by 46	7	0	Gallibury, on Rowboro' Down Bottom.
2 .	26	„ 20	5	2	Ditto.
3 .	33	„ 33	4	0	Ditto.

¹ Young's History of Whitby, vol. ii, pp. 666-683.

² Bateman's Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire, p. 126.

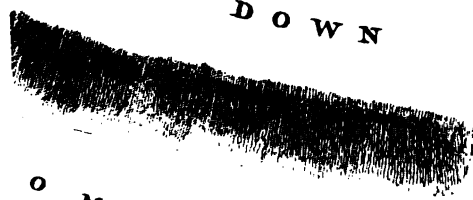
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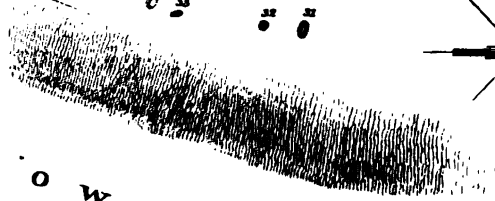
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ROUGH DOWN

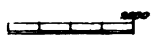
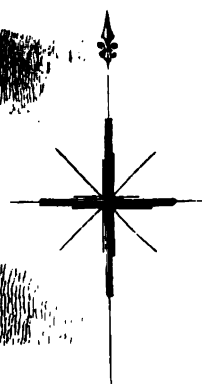


O M

C 2 3 4



O W N



Reduced to Eng^d by Philip Brennan. Scabrampton.

No.	Diameter,		Depth,		Situation.
	feet	feet.	feet	ins.	
4 .	40	„ 40	. 6	0	. Situated in Gallibury.
5 .	33	„ 33	. 4	8	. Ditto.
6 .	26	„ 20	. 2	3	. Ditto.
7 .	40	„ 30	. 5	2	. Ditto.
8 .	38	„ 28	. 4	6	. Ditto.
9 .	38	„ 31	. 4	3	. Ditto.
10 .	40	„ 34	. 3	7	. Ditto.
[Between this and No. 11, a pond of never-failing water.]					
11 .	60 by 50		. 4	6	. Situated at the head of Gallibury.
12 .	20	„ 17	. 3	4	. „ on the side of the hill.
13 .	45	„ 30	. 4	0	. „ on Rowborough down.
14 .	60	„ 25	. 5	0	. Ditto.
15 .	20	„ 20	. 2	3	. Ditto.
16 .	20	„ 14	. 1	0	. Ditto.
17 .	30	„ 30	. 1	3	. Ditto.

BUNKERS, OR HOG TROUGH BOTTOM.

18 .	26	„ 26	. 3	0	. Probably a pond, head of valley.
19 .	17	„ 17	. 1	0	. In the valley.
20 .	24	„ 16	. 2	0	. On side of the hill.
21 .	25	„ 18	. 2	3	. Ditto.
22 .	17	„ 16	. 0	9	. In the valley.
23 .	37	„ 30	. 3	2	. Ditto.
24 .	43	„ 26	. 4	6	. Ditto.
25 .	Hollows	}	. 2	0	. In side of the hill.
26 .	in bank		. 2	0	. Ditto.
27 .	30	„ 30	. 4	6	. In the valley.
28 .	26	„ 22	. 2	2	. Ditto.
29 .	30	„ 26	. 2	0	. Side of hill.

ROWBOROUGH BOTTOM.

30 .	33	„ 18	. 1	0	. In the valley, probably double house.
31 .	53	„ 26	. 2	3	. In the valley.
32 .	30	„ 22	. 2	0	. Ditto.
33 .	22	„ 15	. 1	6	. Ditto.
34 .	38	„ 25	. 3	0	. Ditto.

[A space, without pits, of about 266 yards.]

35 .	30	„ 27	. 2	0	. In the valley.
36 .	30	„ 20	. 3	4	. Ditto.
37 .	56	„ 33	. 7	0	. Ditto.
38 .	60	„ 13	. 3	0	. Ditch in the valley.
39 .	27	„ 27	. 7	0	. In the valley.
40 .	24	„ 20	. 2	6	. Ditto.
41 .	33	„ 33	. 2	0	. Ditto.

No.	Diameter, feet feet.		Depth, feet ins.		Situation.
42 .	40	30	6	4	In the valley.
43 .	50	23	3	0	Ditto.
44 .	39	26	6	0	Ditto.
45 .	15	15	1	0	Ditto.
46 .	80	47	6	4	Ditto, probably double house.
47 .	23	17	3	0	Ditto.
48 .	33	20	2	4	Ditto.
49 .	17	17	2	0	On side of hill.
50 .	16 by 13		1	9	In the valley.
51 .	23	10	1	9	Ditto.
52 .	57	20	2	10	Ditto, probably double house.
53 .	19	15	2	6	Ditto.
54 .	20	13	2	0	Ditto.
FERN BOTTOM.					
55 .	43	30	4	0	In the valley.
56 .	40	30	2	0	Ditto.
57 .	20	20	1	0	Ditto.
58 .	30	20	6	0	Appearance of a pond.
59 .	30	30	4	0	Side of hill.
60 .	27	25	4	0	Ditto.
61 .	175	40	8	6	Probably a British fortification.
62 .	70	60			Probably a stockade.

It must be almost needless to remind the members of this Association, that our rude British ancestors, according to the testimony of Cæsar, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, Strabo, etc., dwelt in circular excavations in the ground, roofed with branches of trees, cased over with turf or straw, having a side opening, which served the triple purpose of door, window, and chimney. The middle of the pit was the usual place for the fire, round which heath or grass was spread for seats and beds. Such, we know, has ever been a favourite mode of constructing habitations with uncivilized tribes.

By the permission of Mr. Wigmore, of Rowborough farm, I examined some of these pits, opening the surface earth in the centre for the space of six or eight feet in length, and about four feet in breadth; down to the undisturbed soil, a depth of from six to twenty-four inches.

In pit No. 2, as marked in the accompanying map, were the bones of several animals, vestiges, no doubt, of human food. They were, a horse's tooth, scapula of a small lamb or dog, and the pelvic bone of hare, with some charred wood

in a very mouldered condition. Just above this pit is a bank about sixteen feet broad and three feet high, crossing the valley at right angles.

In pit No. 3 were the teeth of deer and sheep, fragments of jaw, ulna, and vertebræ of deer, and other bones in a fragmentary state; also fragments of ox bones, viz., femur, scapula, and vertebræ. I was struck with a remark of the labourer, James Jolliffe, who was removing the soil, that "it would make fine garden mould", its richness being very apparent, probably arising from the successive accumulation of food-bones converted to dust, with the *débris* of the roof, which had fallen in when the habitation was suffered to become a ruin.

No. 4, to my great astonishment, contained some *human* bones, fragmentary only, phalanges, metacarpus, ulna, or radius, fragments of the skull, and an incisor tooth. It is a conjecture somewhat repugnant to modern British humanity, that these bones may indicate a period when the ancient Britons, like other savage tribes, ate the flesh of those slain in battle.

Another low bank lies between this and the next pit.

No. 5 contained the teeth and vertebræ of deer, and fragments of bones of oxen.

I examined pit No. 8 for seven feet in length and two feet in width, through the centre, but did not find any remains. Perhaps the poorer members of the community lived upon vegetables and reptiles, which leave no vestige. We often regret that, even in the present day, there are those in our agricultural districts who rarely taste animal food.

At the top of the valley, after pit No. 10, is a pond, about twenty-seven feet in breadth, supplied from a spring, which our labourer, who had worked on the farm for thirteen years, had never known to fail, even in the driest season. This spring would have supplied the inhabitants with water.

Reaching the head of Gallibury, and ascending Rowborough Down which separates it from Rowborough Bottom, to the south, on the summit, are artificial ridges, about four feet wide, and from one foot to one and a half feet high, in the form of an oblong square, about 160 by 120 feet; possibly remains of enclosures for cattle: or, with other ridges depicted on the map, outworks for defences. There is also an adjoining embankment, in the form of three sides of a

large incomplete square, two sides being rather more than two hundred feet long. These longer sides are those which would be best adapted to defend the post. One bank, of nearly six hundred feet in length, terminating with a pit, runs along the side, over against Bunkers, or Hog Trough Bottom. The pits on the eminence were perhaps outposts for observations, as well as habitations.

The pit marked 18, at the head of Bunkers, seems to have been formed as a receptacle for the water from the three surrounding hills. It has the remains of a bank, with an opening in it on the north-west for the entrance of the water. It has flint stones round its edges. It is different altogether from the other pits in the nature of its soil, which, for the depth of four feet, is composed evidently of sediment, and is overgrown with long grass and nettles. This pond was formed obviously for the same purpose as that supplied by a spring at the head of the adjoining valley.

The pits commencing 30 are situated in Rowborough bottom, and may be considered as constituting Rowborough village. There is an intervening space between Nos. 34 and 35, possibly once containing pits, which time, the tread of cattle, or other accidental circumstance, may have destroyed. There may also have been some filling-in of pits to the west of No. 53, at the head of Rowborough bottom, for just above its extremity, on the Brixton down, are nine pits, one of which is very large. They may be considered as belonging to this collection, though they could not conveniently be brought into the map.

I examined No. 45, and found in it the same vestiges of human food as in the pits at Gallibury. In one part there seemed to be some attempt at pitching the floor with large flint stones; and there was charred wood so nearly reduced to dust, that the wind blew it from our hands. The bones were, vertebræ and teeth of deer, ribs and vertebræ of the sheep, scapula of a lamb or small dog, and ulna of a deer. In opening this pit I was assisted by Mr. William Dyer.

For the anatomical description of the various bones, I am indebted to the kindness and skill of Ernest Wilkins, esq., surgeon, and curator of the museum at Newport, in which repository these relics are now placed.

The pit, No. 52, in which a slight cutting was made, also contained bones. I did not investigate other pits, but consider that, from the collective locality and general fea-

tures of the pits, the discovery of the bones and charred wood near the centre of some, and also the peculiar appearance of the soil, so completely answering the description of ancient British settlements, further research was needless; and that the fact of these being ancient British villages was, on fair evidence, established.

From No. 53 the pits take a north-west direction, along the valley called Fern Bottom. At its head, in pit 58, is the same provision for a supply of water as in Bunkers. This pit presents a different appearance to the others. It is set round with flints, as No. 18: it is overgrown with the blackberry, the elderberry, and luxuriant grass; and it is obviously most conveniently situated for receiving water from the three surrounding hills.

It should be remarked, that at this pit, 58, the ground rises by a very steep ascent; and that the remaining pits, 59 and 60, till we reach the fortification, are on the side of the hill, very considerably above the level. These pits, and the disposition of the ground, are represented in the section on the map.

The embankment or fortification at the head of the valley on the side of Brixton Down, is of a very commanding character, and must have been powerful both for offence and defence. By reference to the plan it will be seen to present a straight front of one hundred and seventy-five feet, with a uniform breadth of forty, and a depth of eight feet. From its situation and connexion it is probably of British origin. At about seven hundred feet to the north-east is a square embankment, about seventy feet by sixty, probably used as a stockade, where cattle or other valuables may have been placed for security. It has the vestige of a pond close to it, on the south-west. It is about two hundred yards south of the Gallibury beacon.

I observed that none of the pits were in that advanced stage of the construction of British houses described in some of the settlements of the Romanized Britons by sir R. C. Hoare,¹ Dr. Young, Saull,² and Bateman. The Romans in the Isle of Wight may very early have induced the Britons to leave their rude settlements for the comforts and accommodations of a town; for it is my conviction that Meda, or Newport, traces its origin to Roman founda-

¹ Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire, Part I, pp. 37 and 84.

² Saull's *Notitiæ Britanniae*, p. 9.

tion. It has been the tradition of the neighbouring country people for the last hundred years, that these pits are the remains of a Danish camp, indicating, as far as the tradition is worth anything, that at least they are not of modern date.

It may also be remarked, as an indication of the probability of ancient British villages being found in this direction, that this neighbourhood abounds with barrows of the ancient Britons, various of which, on Buccombe, Brixton, and other downs, have been opened. There were two barrows in a field to the east of Rowborough Down, which would seem well deserving of exploration; for our labourer remembered various relics (among others an ancient sword) having been turned up by the plough in their vicinity: indeed, from the abundance of British barrows in the Isle of Wight, it is not improbable that many of these pit-villages formerly existed, especially near the British *Caer*, or Carisbrooke,—which the ploughshare has obliterated, or the tread of cattle effaced.

Some scattered pits are to be found about the adjacent downs of Idlecombe and Buccombe, and likewise of Gatcombe, which also merit attention; on the west part of Buccombe Down, opposite the fir plantation on Blatchford Down, about 100 yards from the stile. At Buccombe, toward the east, are about twelve very slight depressions, in a row, which are scarcely traceable, but which may have been British pits. There is, too, running along the south-west part of Buccombe Down, opposite the fir plantation on Blatchford Down, a line (five hundred yards) of wall, composed chiefly of flints and gravel. The gravel must have been brought from some other locality, as it is different from the neighbouring soil. This wall, about twelve feet wide, and four feet high, with a small outer ditch, is probably part of an ancient British enclosure for cattle; or it might have been for defence. Faint traces of the wall extend to Park Cross. There are also about a hundred yards of similar wall on Brixton Down; but it is the large neighbouring British settlement of Newbarns, about a mile from the other villages situated at the foot of Newbarns Down, which is on the west of Gallibury Down, and north of Brixton Down, to which I would draw more particular attention.

This ancient village is located in three small valleys, running from Newbarn Down into a larger valley, encircled by high hills. Through the centre of each of these valleys

are pits, in number thirty-four, similar in size and aspect to those already described. Nearly at the base, where the three valleys unite, is a pond of very considerable dimensions, which received its supplies from the neighbouring hills. From its situation, it was accessible to the population of the whole range of valleys. The bottom of this former pond is of a dark soil, and four large thorn trees have made in it their luxuriant growth, together with an abundance of rank vegetation. Besides these thirty-four larger pits, there are in the basin of the valley sixty or seventy generally of a smaller size, which present a *coup d'œil* of considerable beauty, resembling the clusters of some of the northern ancient British settlements. Here may have been a British village, containing as large a population as the other two combined. The excellent arrangements of these villages, as to local defence and convenience of water, are calculated to raise our opinion of the courage and capacity of the Celtic race. The writer cannot but express a hope that these ancient relics of Britain's primitive inhabitants, which ought to be conserved as national property, may long be spared from the invasion of the plough, and handed down to unknown generations, as far as may be, in all their primitive interest, like other national monuments or memorials of the things that have been. They are history's vivid page, as well as an Alfred's birth-place, a Canute's palace, or a Shakespeare's lowly dwelling. These vestiges of the past are, in their retired localities, remarkably concealed from observation, to which must be attributed that they have not before been described by the antiquary. But those who visit the Isle of Wight for archaeological research will discover no spot more interesting and suggestive than the sight of these ancient settlements. Here they may trace the footsteps and muse upon the untutored labors of the race which preceded the Belgæ, who in their turn gave way before the conquering arms of the Saxon lords. And those who visit the "Garden of England" for love of the beautiful in nature, will find in these sweet glens, sequestered from the busy hum of men, a quiet and a charm which speak only of peace, while the surrounding eminences, which must be climbed to form an adequate conception of these ancient villages, present, in their reach of hill and dale and sea, one of the most enchanting scenes ever scanned by the eye of man.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 276.)

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22.

THE Association quitted Newport at half-past ten, a.m., to proceed to Calbourne Church, where they were met and hospitably received by the Rev. Mr. Mackenzie, in the absence of the vicar, the Rev. Mr. Hoare. This church was, with the exception of the tower, originally somewhat similar to that of Shalfleet, although of a slightly earlier date. The east window of the south aisle, from which the present east window of the chancel has been copied, consists of two lancets, surmounted by a circle; and the stone-work between the windows was so unusually large, with lights forming one general arrangement, that Mr. Davis suggested it may probably have formed a back-ground to a rood or a tabernacle, containing the figure of the virgin or a saint. The lancet windows of the chancel are very good, and have been copied of late in the south aisle. A modern transept and porch has been added to the chancel, and a new disposition of the nave arches; but this has not been strictly carried out in harmony with the older building, and it is therefore much matter of regret that so great an expense should have been incurred without producing a more satisfactory and pleasing effect. The tower, terminating in a wooden spire, is low and somewhat modern. The view of this church from the rectory garden forms a very pleasing picture.

From Calbourne the Association proceeded to Longstone, where they alighted in order to view some monuments from which the place takes its name.¹ These consist of large blocks of sandstone (containing a considerable portion of iron, abounding in this neighbourhood), the principal one of which measures 13 feet in height and is $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, and 20 feet in circumference. It was calculated to weigh ten tons, and is of a somewhat quadrangular form, but irregular in its shape. Another stone, measuring 9 feet long, is lying on the ground, close to the former, which still maintains its erect position. There are also in the neighbourhood large fragments of other stones, and they give to the spectator the appearance of a broken-down cromlech. These stones bear no evidence of having

¹ Figured by sir H. Englefield, bart., in his *History of the Isle of Wight*, plate 11.

been hewn or wrought, are exceedingly irregular, from having had several portions knocked off to satisfy the cupidity or curiosity of visitors, and conjectures have been abundant in regard to them. They have generally, though upon insufficient grounds, been attributed to druidical times. The late Mr. Dennett conceived them to have belonged to the marauding Danes, who seized upon the Isle of Wight in 787, as a convenient place of retreat whither they might retire and find a safe deposit for the plunder obtained from the neighbouring coasts. The Danes were also in the island during the early part of the eleventh century. Some measurements and observations upon the surrounding locality were taken, with reference to further inquiry respecting these curious erections.

The Association proceeded to Mottistone, the only remarkable features of which are its small church¹ and the house belonging to the Cheke family, built in 1567. This is now a farm, and described by sir H. Englefield as belonging to "the second order of ancient houses approaching to the large farms, and having the offices and stables attached to the dwelling-house, which in the capital mansions of that date was not the case."²

Having arrived at Brixton or Brightstone Church, the Association found a letter, with observations on the church, awaiting them, from the rural dean, the rev. Edward McAll, who was unfortunately away from the island at this time. The church has lately been much restored; and without severely criticising the work, the Association felt much pleased with the labours carried out. This church meets every requirement of a parish church, if we except a north porch. The nave formerly had only one aisle; but very early Norman arches were discovered in the north wall, which led the restorers to build an aisle upon traces of foundations also discovered. This has been done in the Norman style, and would appear to be pretty correctly carried out, had a north porch or doorway also been built. The column westward of this *suggested* entrance is remarkable from a portion of dog-tooth ornament at the springing. The arches between the south aisle are Decorated, and against the westward pier is a shelf for a book, surmounted by a small canopy: this marks out the original position of the font. The arches in the chancel, separating it from a continuation of the south aisle, have the same bases as in the nave, but are of perpendicular character, and are much more slender above the base. It was suggested that these columns may have been cut out of others of earlier date. The tower is low, with a square turret, terminating in a rather singular conical roof, which Mr. Davis conceived might have been again surmounted by a large stone cross; but it is much to be regretted, that time did not allow the Association to ascertain, by

¹ Engraved by Tomkins.

² History of the Isle of Wight, p. 109. Sir Henry has given a view of the house in plate 8.

personal examination of the roof, whether this idea may have had foundation; as we have, we believe, no precedent of such an arrangement. The exterior of this church is exceedingly pretty and highly suggestive. Mr. Pettigrew read to the assembly the letter of the rector; and the following extract, relating to the restoration and repairs of the church, will be perused with interest:—

“I am exceedingly sorry that I lose the benefit of meeting you on Wednesday, when I understand it is your intention to visit my church. I cannot, however, leave home without preparing a few lines of cordial welcome to Brightstone, that I may thus be represented in my unavoidable absence. The church you will see here, cannot be classed among the most striking or beautiful structures of the island, although you will think it *picturesque*; but I may say for my parishioners, that, assisted by the bishop of the diocese and other friends, they have desired to avail themselves of all its capabilities, in endeavouring to restore it to what it originally was. And I will venture to bespeak for the alterations you will witness when you come, the indulgence which is due to *village workmen*, who have done the best they could in improving and restoring the church of their native parish. The work (with one exception) was exclusively theirs. Of the details of the work I will only trouble you with a few particulars:—You will see an arcade of Norman columns and arches on your left. This was enclosed or immured in the north wall of the church, three years ago. We could trace the outline of the arches, and were impatient to open them again and to restore the aisle, which must originally have been external to these columns and arches, and thus bring them once more into the body of the church. We could easily trace the foundations of this aisle; and the present north aisle was accordingly built, stone on stone, on the original foundations. In doing this work, we discovered the ancient floor line of the church, and found it was of an average depth of two feet below what was, three years ago, the pavement of the church. We removed all this superincumbent earth, and in the church and in the chancel we have gained these two feet of additional height. The original roof of the nave, etc. is now opened, and shows the timber, which had been covered over with a ceiling. The tower arch was closed up with lath and plaster, and a gallery. These have been removed, without loss to the accommodation of the church, which now seats many more persons than when it had a gallery and high square pews. The chancel floor is laid out in panels formed by the ancient tombstones (which it would not have been right to remove, although they have been lowered two feet) and encaustic tiles. The tiles within the rails are the gift of Winchester College, in commemoration of bishop Ken's having formerly been rector of this place. The reredos, which is the work of my village mason, is formed chiefly of Caen stone, found in different parts of the church. The windows are all restored



LEGEND OF ST. CHRISTOPHER
from a hand painted in Chertsey Church, Isle of Wight.

and filled with stained glass. That in the tower is the gift of the bishop of Oxford, in remembrance of his ten years' connection with the parish, as its rector. I will not trouble you with any more details; only repeating my regret that I am not at home to welcome you to the church, and to offer you hospitality at the rectory. I pray you, however, to make any use you please of my house and garden, which must derive their chief interest in your mind, from their connection with my predecessors already referred to, and with Mr. Wilberforce, the father of the bishop of Oxford, who spent his last years here."

On the road to Shorwell, the Association stopped to view an old farm house at Wolverton, which contained some carvings. They were tolerable of their kind, but not numerous or worthy of being particularised, and belonged to the time of James. At Shorwell, Miss Worsley kindly received the Association, and exhibited the watch given by Charles I. to Mr. Worsley, described in Mr. Cuming's paper (see p. 229, *ante*.) Thence they repaired to the church, where they were received by the rev. Mr. Renwick. The church consists of a nave, side-aisles, tower and south porch, and it does not appear to have ever possessed a chancel, the last bay of the nave and aisles being parted off as a chancel by two stone steps. It is almost entirely of the Perpendicular style, with the exception of a few earlier fragments and the Decorated base of the tower, which is crowned by a low stone spire, divided into two stages by a small band. The interior of the church is remarkable for a very peculiar arrangement of a stone pulpit (in which is the iron frame to contain an hour-glass), entered by a flight of steps through a segmental arch piercing what would otherwise be a very massive pier, in a central position of the north aisle. This church has been lately restored in pretty good taste. In the church are some interesting monuments belonging to the Leigh family, to which, and some other monumental brasses, Mr. Planché drew the attention of the Association. Here also are the remains of mural paintings, previously described and figured in the Journal (vol. iii. pp. 85-93). These were discovered in April 1847. The subject is the well-known and often repeated representation of St. Christopher bearing the infant Saviour on his shoulders. The painting measures eleven feet in width and six-and-a-half feet in height, and is placed over the north door of the church. It has been described as follows:—"The left side of the picture, where the story begins, is the most defaced. The upper portion appears to represent the journey of Christopher in the desert or wilderness, with his evil companions. Beneath, Christopher appears to be taking his leave of them; taking his stand by the cross, he lifts his right hand in a repellant manner, and with his left grasps the uprooted tree which he is to use in fording the dangerous stream. The cross behind him is elegant in design; and the figure of the Redeemer, on its summit, delicately and minutely executed. On a promontory above is placed a

beacon : and nearer to the cross is seated a figure, busily employed with his angle ; his success is perfect, for he has caught a fish as large as himself. There is a noble defiance of perspective in this portion of the painting ; for the tree beside this figure, and the ship before him, bear no proportion to his own size, or to each other. The grand central group represents a colossal figure of the saint, who is habited in a brown tunic, open in front from the waist downwards, and having loose sleeves, lined with white. Over this is thrown a mantle, lined with green, and having a pattern stencilled all over it. Around the saint's head is a twisted band of linen, similar to those placed on the head of Saracens in early heraldic sculpture. The infant Saviour is habited in a green dress, and bears a globe, surmounted by a cross, in the left hand, the right being uplifted in benediction ; from his mouth issue the words, *Ego sum Alpha et ω*. On the other side of this group is a ship fully armed, with a man in the top castle ; a boat below, filled with men, is rowing to land. A group of fish are swimming around the feet of the saint, among which we may distinguish pike, turbot and salmon. The monk who was the spiritual adviser of Christopher, occupies the upper portion of the land on the right side of the picture. He is issuing from the door of his hermitage with a lanthorn in his hand, to assist St. Christopher through the darkness of the memorable night when he carried the Saviour over the waters. The little hermitage is clearly depicted, with the embanked trees beside it, the bell over the door, and the cross on the gable. At the bottom is St. Christopher, stripped, and bound to a tree : the body of the saint is not clearly defined, owing to the decay of the painting, but the heads of the arrows with which his body is filled appear on all sides : an archer on each side is shooting more. A flight of these arrows make their way upwards towards the king, who is looking on, with his sword-bearer beside him ; and one of the arrows enters his eye and deprives him of sight, in accordance with the legendary story already related.”¹

To enable the reader to accompany and understand the foregoing extract from an early volume of the *Journal*, the reader is referred to plate 25, which is here repeated. The legend of Christopher has been frequently brought before the notice of the Association.²

Over the south door of Shorwell church was also a representation of the Last Judgment, another subject commonly met with in mural paintings in churches. Before, however, it could be traced out with sufficient precision, it had been covered over with whitewash, and few remains are now to be observed ; just sufficient to make known to those who are familiar with these subjects, the object intended to have been represented.

¹ *Journal of the Association*, vol. iii, pp. 88, 89.

² See *Journal*, vol. ii, p. 144 ; vol. x, plates 10 and 11, pp. 80, 82. The Winchester volume of the *Archæological Institute* (p. 23) records a brass of the date of 1499, in St. Mary's church, Week, or Wike, representing St. Christopher carrying the infant Saviour.

From Shorwell the Association proceeded to Gallibury, a supposed ancient British town. It consisted of a series of hollows in a narrow valley, and on ascending to the summit of the hill, a series of lines and roads, arranged in squares, were plainly discernible, while here and there were remains as if a fort or lookout had been erected, and, what was extremely singular, on approaching this spot a corresponding valley was discovered, of the existence of which no one seemed to be aware, and filled with similar hollows, answering exactly to the description given by the late Mr. Saul of the dwellings of the ancient British. Several members were of opinion, from a minute inspection of the remains, that a very populous British or Belgic town must have existed here at one time; and they were further confirmed in their opinion, from being able to trace the lines and banks thrown up for purposes of defence. The subject was undertaken to be investigated by the rev. Mr. Kell, and the results are recorded in our pages (see pp. 305-313 *ante*.)

Returning to Newport, an evening meeting was held at the Town Hall, when the rev. Mr. Kell read a paper "On the Ancient Tin Trade of the Isle of Wight" (which will be printed in the Journal). This gave rise to much discussion between Mr. Kell, Mr. Planché, Mr. Black, Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Gould, etc., in which the ingenuity of the author was very generally acknowledged, and some of his etymological explanations admitted. The subject, however, admits of further consideration, and is deserving of attention. It was very generally felt, that many serious difficulties in regard to it had yet to be surmounted.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 23.

At an early hour the Association quitted Newport for Niton, where the church was examined. It consists of a nave and south aisle, the latter extending one bay at the side of the chancel, a western tower and south porch. The mullions of the south windows have been entirely removed, but as these windows were never of any particular character, and square-headed, they do not suffer much loss of beauty. In the north wall are some remains of early Norman arches, showing that the church once boasted a north aisle. There is a peculiar niche in the jamb of the north-eastern window of the nave, to which Mr. Davis was at a loss to assign a name, as he thought it could scarcely have been a tabernacle. In the chancel is a square opening, formerly the entrance into the rood-loft. The south porch is rather remarkable, being barrel-roofed, with stone ribs, in a similar manner to some of the church porches in the Channel Islands. The tower is low and battlemented, but surmounted by a small spire. On the north side of the tower is a building, formerly a charnel-house. In front of the south entrance is the square base of a large cross, somewhat peculiarly placed, the angles, and not the sides, being opposite the cardinal points.

From Niton the party proceeded to the well-known little church of St. Lawrence, usually regarded as one of the smallest dimensions in the country.¹ The late lord Yarborough enlarged it for the accommodation of the public, previously to which its measurements were given as twenty feet in length, twelve feet in width, and scarcely six feet to the eaves. There is scarcely any of the original structure now remaining. The entrance now, by a porch at the north, was originally by an archway in the north wall, of early Decorated date; this, with a small lancet window, is all that remains of any character. The bell hangs in a little open turret, on the western gable, giving a very picturesque effect. The chancel, which has not been erected many years, has its north and south walls resting on two flat sarcophagus tombs. Culbone church, near Porlock, in Somersetshire, it is believed, is the next largest, being only thirty-five feet long.

Quitting St. Lawrence, the Association proceeded through Ventnor (where time would not permit the members to partake of the accommodation offered to them at the Athenæum at that place) to Bonchurch, a corruption of St. Boniface. Here they were met by the vicar, the rev. James White, and made a full inspection of the church, which stands upon a very steep slope. Bonchurch, now only used for reading the burial service, exhibits little to entice the inquiries of the archæologist, if we except the remains of frescoes on the walls, which appear to represent the glory of the righteous and the condemnation of the wicked. The church is waggon-roofed, with a chancel and south porch. At the south-west corner are two buttresses, apparently adjuncts to an angular bell-turret, which probably originally formed a very novel and picturesque feature in the building. Adjoining the church is a place called Monk's Bay, whither the Rev. Mr. White conducted the party. Here, it is reported, the monks in former days landed to instruct the inhabitants, and it is one of the earliest of those places in the country, in which the light of Christianity was made known to the Saxons. Mr. White pointed out some remains of a Roman encampment, very similar indeed to those viewed at the Congress of 1854, at Portskewett, in Monmouthshire, and which, like them, had been half washed away by the sea. He also mentioned, that Johan Von Muller, one of the most exact historians of his day, had positively asserted that the Roman fleet were permanently stationed outside the Isle of Wight, so that there could be no doubt of that people having visited it. Mr. Planché thought that it was highly probable the fleet were stationed at Puckaster bay, near which were the remains of a Roman road.

The party next proceeded to Wroxall Downs, and visited various barrows, where excavations, by the kind permission of Mr. Blyth, had been made

¹ A good representation of this church is given in sir R. Worsley's *History of the Isle of Wight*, p. 183.

under the superintendence of Mr. Ernest Wilkins, the curator of the Isle of Wight museum. In one or two of these, large portions of charcoal, large flints, sea sand, and some calcined remains were found, showing clearly that they had been used for the sepulture of a people who burnt their dead; but no kind of urn or any coins were found, and a thunder-storm coming on, the party were precluded from devoting sufficient time to prosecute their researches with any great minuteness. Some of the charcoal and burnt remains were preserved, for the purpose of further examination, and the party returned to Newport after a long and interesting drive.

At the evening meeting at Newport, sir Fortunatus Dwarria, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair, Mr. Black engaged the attention of the Association by a lecture "On the Mode of Keeping the Accounts of the Exchequer," and exhibited specimens of the tallies employed as vouchers at this department of the state.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 24.

This morning, at an early hour, the Association quitted Newport for Cowes, whence they crossed over to Southampton, where it had been determined the congress should be concluded. The company proceeded to the Audit House,¹ where they were met and heartily welcomed by Sampson Payne, esq., the mayor, C. E. Deacon, esq., the town clerk, and several members of the corporation. On this occasion, with a most laudable spirit of inquiry and eagerness for information, the corporation had caused all the charters, ancient documents, seals, maces, and other regalia, to be exhibited.

Of Southampton, Leland gives us the following memoranda: "The old town of *Hampton* was brent in tyme of warre, spoyled and rasyd by French pyrates. This was the cause that the inhabitantes there translated themself to a more commodius place, and began with the kinges licens and help to builde *New Hampton*, and to waulle yt yn defence of ther enemies. Ther be yn the fair and right stronge waulle of New Hampton these gates: fyrst, *Barre Gate* by north, large and welle embatelid. In the upper parte of thys gate is *Domus Civica*: and underneathe is the town prison. There is a greate suburbe without this gate, and ther is a great double dike welle waterid on eche hand without it: and so 4. tourres in the waulle, whereof the 3. as the corner tourre is very fair stronge, to the est gate. The *Est Gate* is stronge, but nothing so large as the barre gate. There is a suburbe withoute this gate, and *S. Maries* the mother chyrch of *New Hampton*, standith yn it. There be 6 fair tourres in the walle betwixt the est gate and the south gate: and like as the town without the waulle is doble dichid from

¹ "There ys a fair house buildid yn the midle of this (High, anciently called English) streat, for accomptes to be made yn."—Leland's *Itinerary*, iii, 108.

the castelle to barre gate, and so to est gate; so it is from est gate almost even to south gate. The *South Gate* standith not even ful south, but south-est: and ther is joynid to it a castelat welle ordinauncid to bete that quarter of the haven. Ther is a nother meane gate a little more south caullid *Goddeshouse Gate*, of an hospitale joynid to it. And not far beyond it is a fair gate caullid the *Water Gate*: without the circle is a fair square key, forsid with (piles into the) haven water for shippes (to resort to). Then a 3 tourres to the west gate. The *West Gate* is strong, and even without it is a large key for shippes, as there is without the water gate. There be 2 gates beside, whereof one is a posterne, and the other is by the castelle. The glorie of the castelle is yn the dungeon, that is both large, fair and very stronge, both by worke and the site of it."

The mayor having taken the chair, Mr. Black, as the palæographer of the Association, proceeded to examine the public records, many of which were of the most curious character. He first called the attention of the meeting to the old coffers on the table, containing the deeds and charters, some of which were, he thought, as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. He then exhibited an old parchment book, in the original wooden binding, which in itself formed a kind of box that effectually excluded dirt. The book was a manuscript written in the old Norman French, and contained the very essentials of the constitution, history, and laws of the common borough. Mr. Black read the Norman French charter of Edward III. which first conferred the privilege of a constitution upon the town. Singularly enough, by an error in the endorsement, it was made to appear that the date of this document was the time of Edward I.; but Mr. Black immediately detected the indications of an erasure, which appeared to have been made some hundred years since, to serve some particular purpose, and which had had the effect probably of falsifying to a great extent the history of the town. Other documents related to the tolls on articles brought to the port. Among these were plaster of Paris, mentioned as early as the reign of Edward III. There was also mention made of many things now quite foreign to the port; for instance, caps of sandal silk; and there was a reference to Brazil before the discovery of America, showing that the Brazils derived their name from some previous place. Among other things upon which duty was leviable in this reign at Southampton, were grains of paradise, pepper, and ginger, sardines, stockfish, lampreys, salted porpoises (then used for food), coigns, etc. In one document were all the rules entered in this reign from the laws of Soleron, which formed the foundation of all the maritime laws of the kingdom. Among other curious things, there was a charge for flowers, to place in the court as a preventive against the pest.

¹ Itinerary, iii, 106, 7.

Mr. Black having concluded his discourse, and a slight inspection of the antiquities laid upon the table of the large council chamber, in which the meeting was held, having been made, the Association, accompanied by the mayor, several of the corporation, and many of the inhabitants, proceeded on an excursion to visit the most ancient and interesting part of the town; in making a survey of which, they felt exceedingly indebted to Mr. Philip Brannon, who kindly undertook the direction of the party. The first object visited was St. Michael's church, the most ancient in Southampton, and which has been generally regarded as Saxon or Norman; but it has undergone many alterations, and been remodelled according to the Perpendicular style. This church contains a remarkable carved black marble font of Norman times¹ (*circa* 1150); a mutilated figure of a Christian ecclesiastic, stated to be as early as the eleventh century, and the monument of sir Richard Lyster,² which, until the examination made by sir Frederic Madden, has been always spoken of as that of the lord chancellor Wriothesley, earl of Southampton, who died July 30, 1550, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew, Holborn. His body was removed from thence to Tichfield, pursuant to the will of his son Henry, second earl of Southampton, who died June 29, 1581, and bequeathed one thousand marks for the repair of the church of Tichfield, and the erection of a sumptuous monument to his father, mother and himself.³ From sir F. Madden we learn, that a description of the monument in St. Michael's is given in one of the additional MSS. in the British Museum, No. 14,296, fol. 59, from which it would appear to have then been in the state in which it is now to be seen, with the exception of the principal part of the colouring, which has almost entirely disappeared. The MS. reads: "In the aforesaid dormitory, against the south part, lyes on a handsome stone tomb, the figure of a judge, on his back, dressed in scarlet, a collar of SS. round his breast, a judge's cap on his head, and a book in his right hand. On a sort of cornice, supported by three pillars, this remnant of an inscription: ET. DICTO ELIZABETH. HOC IN. VIDVETATE. SUA. CAZAVIT. 18 DIE. MARCIE. 1567." The MS. from which the foregoing extract was taken, is of the date of 1719. Under the canopy of the tomb is a coat of arms, quarterly, viz., one and four, on a cross five mullets between four birds; two and three, a lion rampant, within an orle of crescents. The date of 1567 is placed above and beneath the initials of the judge's name, R. L. Sir Richard Lyster was chief justice at pleas. His grandson married lady Mary, the second daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, first earl of Southampton,

¹ It is engraved in the *Companion to the Third Edition of a Glossary of Terms used in Gothic Architecture*, Part III, plate xxxiv, fig. 3. Oxford, 1841, 8vo.

² See Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute at Winchester: 1845, p. 115.

³ Dugdale's *Baronage*, ii, 284.

which may have (as sir Frederic Madden has suggested) "helped to occasion the error respecting his grandfather's monument."¹

From the church the party passed on to view the remains of the Woollen hall, which was formerly a very extensive building. There now are to be seen only a portion of wall, having one entire arch, and portions of two others, in the lane south of St. Michael's church. The segmental arches and square trefoil-headed window eaves are interesting. There are solid vaults below.

The party next viewed an ancient house, in which were some carvings, good ceilings and merchants' monograms. Also another house, on the west side of St. Michael's-square, of the time of Henry VIII, where it is said the monarch lodged with Anne Boleyn, when visiting Southampton. It is an exceedingly interesting mansion, and of much pretension. Mr. Brannon justly described it as of much originality of design, with high finish externally. The ground floor is in great part modernized, but the porch in the south angle shows its general character. The projection of the first floor is carried on a bold curve, with shafts, ribs and mouldings; the windows above it are large, flat arched, with several mullions and a transom, and the gables are projected on a sort of canopy, with flat arches and pendants; the Plantagenet broom is curiously worked into the spandril, and altogether the effect is good.² There were formerly many old gabled timber houses in Southampton. Few, however, are the remains of those now to be seen; the Association were, however, fortunate in having an excellent guide, and were directed to those which are in Blue Anchor-lane, in the High-street, and a few other places. From Mr. Brannon we learnt that rich, bold and varied carvings are met with in several houses in Southampton, exteriorly and interiorly. A fine specimen of the latter was most kindly exhibited by Mr. Keniston, No. 17, High-street, where the room is carved throughout, as well as the door-jambs and staircase. But the most conspicuous portion is to be seen in a very large and magnificent chimney-piece in oak, and much darkened by age. It is of the time of James, and carries the royal arms and the initials and date, I. R., 1605. In this house Charles II is said to have received the burgesses upon his visit to the town. The thanks of the Association were given to Mr. Keniston for his kind attention, and for his liberality in throwing open his house during the entire day, for the free inspection of the members. A curious roof and staircase in the Red Lion inn was also visited. It is an example of one of the old-fashioned hostelries of the town.

In the proceedings of the Association, at the congress held at Winchester in 1845, there is a short paper by the late Mr. W. D. Saull,

¹ Proceedings of Arch. Inst., Winchester, 1845, p. 118.

² See Mr. Brannon's excellent *Picture of Southampton*, illustrated edition, 8vo. p. 51.

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"On the Ancient Fortification of the Town of Southampton."¹ In this will be found a brief but accurate statement of the several gates which formerly existed, and of which the party now proceeded to make an inspection. The entire circuit of the walls of the town is about one mile and a quarter, and the gates were eight in number in Leland's time;² these were denominated the Bar, the East, South, God's-house, Water, West and Bridle gates, and a Water gate to the castle, now closed up, but marked by a projecting bracket. In addition to these there were also some postern gates, of which one only, that of the Blue Anchor, can now be observed. In the accompanying plates, for the use of which the Association are indebted to Mr. Brannon, we have excellent views of:—1. The north-west walls of the town and castle, displaying their massive structure and picturesque appearance to great advantage. 2. The south gate. 3. The arcade in the west wall; and 4. The bar-gate. Plate 26 exhibits the construction of the foot of the walls of the towers. "At the north-west angle, in an ample vesture of ivy (says Mr. Brannon), rises a high tower, originally circular, though at present there appears only a sort of crescent, with an arch stretching across its inner side: adjoining it is a projection, as though a square tower had been erected close to it; and at its foot, still further beyond the wall line, is a square turret, with its sides splayed off near the top, to carry an octagonal parapet supported on corbels. South of this the wall runs straight for some distance, and was once battlemented, as the feet of the embrasures may still be recognized. A semicircular tower, called prince Edward's, or Arundel tower, having loopholes and a high parapet, stands boldly forward from the centre of this piece, and at the end of it the north-west wall of the castle was connected with the sea wall, which has here a sharp projection to the south-west, strengthened by three heavy buttresses; and at its outer angle a square pier or turret, with a flying arch each side, apparently for the support of an octagonal watch tower, which commanded a splendid view of this line of defence, and the whole west bay and river. A few feet further is another square tower, whose beautifully erected masonry excites considerable doubt as to the purposes of its erection. After another interval of flat wall, appear brackets marking the former castle water gate; then a wide pier or buttress, followed by two narrow ones, and a tower and two more piers; in and between these appear door and window, arch and loophole cases, now filled up, which gave light to large vaulted apartments adjoining. All these are evidently but the basement story of magnificent towers, of a character similar to the Gundulph keeps. A house is built on the base of a seventh projection. Then the wall trends boldly outward to the south-west for a short distance, at the return guarded by two more towers, now mutilated and roofed in; and then with a sharp angle it retires fifty feet from the

¹ P. 424.

² See ante, p. 321, and Itinerary, vol. iii, p. 106.

water's edge, thus forming a large projecting mass beyond the general line of fortification which bounded the castle in this direction. In this last face were some arch-cases, and the old masonry surmounted by rude brick walls and roof."¹

The south gate (Plate 27) is seen covered with a tiled roof, and forming the south-east angle of the wall. The gateway presents an obtuse pointed arch, having within ribs and arches of different heights and forms. The great square tower adjoining it is less ancient than the gatetower: these towers were, until very recently, used as a gaol for debtors and felons.

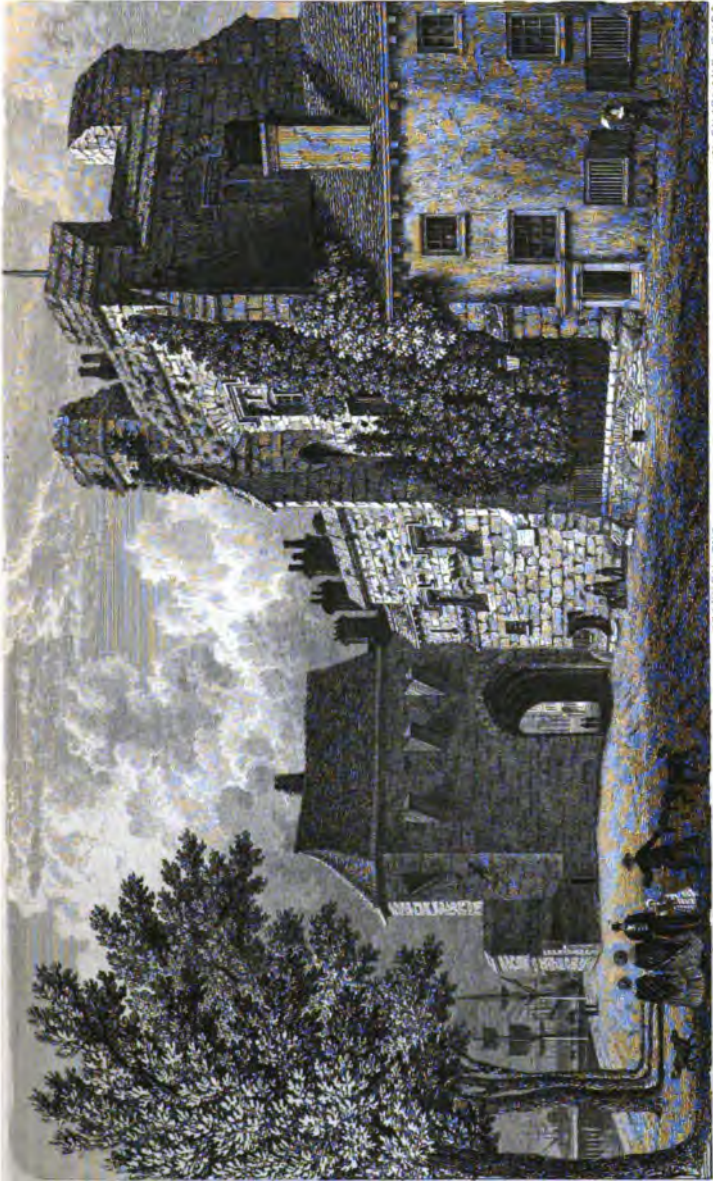
The arcade in the west wall (Plate 28) constitutes perhaps the most interesting portion of ancient architecture in the town. The singularity of its structure has given rise to various and conflicting opinions as to its purpose. The main wall is generally regarded as Norman,² and is furnished with a number of door and window cases, of semicircular and segmental forms, all filled up. Two small turrets and one pier, similar to those in the north wall, project from its face: Mr. Brannon states, that at a later period a series of piers, two feet wide and three feet three inches deep, were built against this wall, without regard to the previous apertures, several of which are partly covered by them. Twelve feet from the ground, arches are thrown from pier to pier; and these are seen to differ in form, from the flattest to the acutest pointed arch. A high parapet is reared above, with an embrasure over each pier, leaving an interval of twenty inches between it and the wall behind, with which however it is connected by long transverse blocks of stone at different distances. Mr. Brannon has given a particular description of the several portions of this curious arcade, from which we quote the following:—³

"In the face of the structure, the first of the arches is acutely pointed, of five feet span, and rather lower than the succeeding ones. In the back wall of the second are a circular and a segmental arch: this and the third are each eleven feet wide, and with nearly equilateral pointed heads. The next is only six feet clear, seemingly formed by the vaulted top of one of the original projecting towers, as though the front wall had been pulled down, in order to carry out the general design. The fifth is nine feet three inches span; the sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth are eleven feet each, and, pointed, with a fine rich mass of ivy hanging over the head of the building in pendant festoons, before the dark-shadowed recesses. The sixth has a semicircular arch, the seventh a segmental head and curiously pointed niche, the eighth a pointed entrance to a small court, and the ninth a 'modern gothic' window and doorway.

¹ Picture of Southampton, p. 34.

² A diversity of opinion has prevailed upon this subject, and they have been esteemed as even Roman or Saxon; but the majority of architects and architectural antiquaries are now pretty well agreed in considering them all Norman, late in style; and although not enriched with mouldings, are yet cleanly cut and carefully constructed.

³ Picture of Southampton, p. 35.



The South Gate, Southampton.

The tenth was the second turret, opened and arched like the other one, but recently filled up, and a tall pointed doorway to a private house made in it: the eleventh is a nearly flat segmental arch of eighteen feet, thrown from the side of the turret to the remaining pier of the original work. Then succeed a pretty regular series of arches, six of them nearly semicircular, yet still clearly pointed; from the twelfth to the fifteenth, they are each eleven feet wide; the sixteenth is eleven feet three inches, the seventeenth, eleven feet nine inches, and the eighteenth and nineteenth, twelve feet wide, and perfectly semicircular. In the back wall of this set, there is in the twelfth a rough arch, the thirteenth opens by a modern gateway to a small court, the fifteenth has a small loophole, and in the sixteenth is the Blue Anchor postern-gate (guarded by a portcullis) to the lane of that name; the seventeenth has a clean round arch, above which was a double window, now almost obliterated; in the eighteenth are the whole of one and half of another rather higher segmental-headed doors or windows—above them, on the right, a loop, and higher, on the left, a well-cut Saxon double window, with a neat impost moulding each side, and a pillar with a foliated capital between; in the nineteenth, a few years ago, was another double-headed window, like the last, and the right jamb of the higher doorcase in the last arch—of the former only the quoins of the left side remain, and the latter was swept away in widening the square entrance broken through the wall. Here the regular series terminates, and after making a double angle (shown on the right of our view), the wall retires several feet.”

From a patient examination of all the particulars relating to this structure, Mr. Brannon has been led to conclude “that the original Saxon or Norman remains were a series of magnificent palatial residences and offices, built at some distance from the water’s edge, to admit of private grounds and landing places, yet sufficiently strong to be defended in case of necessity. When, after the lapse of two or three centuries, intestine wars and foreign invasions had pretty generally urged the necessity of better defences, this piece of wall having several entrances, with land before it, but no ditch, required, according to the principles of fortification at that time, machicolations—which, however, in their regular form would have rendered it too heavy at the top, and called for the addition of several towers. To meet the difficulty, this unique and ingenious design was adopted; piers were built against the wall, and arches bearing an advanced battlemented parapet constructed, so as to form a good rampart, with a complete screen to the defenders, who could thus direct their missiles to a distance or beneath their feet, with equal facility and security. All unnecessary windows were stopped, probably new ones opened in the inner faces of the buildings, and additional archways, for the use of the occupants, made in the wall beyond.”¹

¹ Ibid., p. 36. The late Mr. Hudson Turner regarded the west wall of South-

Quitting this interesting ruin, the party having noticed Butcher-row, Simnel-street and Pepper-alley,—names indicative of the ancient location of provision and spice dealers, visited the remains of the castle walls, and in their route entered a house and descended into a very large vault; which appeared to form the base of the large tower, guarding the castle water-gate tower. Corbels in this place were still remaining, and declared by Mr. Davis to be early English. Having taken a general view of the castle remains on the town side, built on arches, the sea wall and towers, and site of the keep and town gate, the Association made its way to examine one of the very interesting features of the town—the Bar gate (Plate 29), which they ascended, and thence obtained an admirable view of the whole town, and were enabled to mark out the several portions and extent of the ancient town, and define the course of the old city walls. The Bar gate offers a fine specimen of mediæval military architecture to the antiquary. The “original Saxon or Norman gateway consisted of a wide and bold semicircular arch, under a plain solid structure, flanked by large round towers, the only ornament being a bevel and fillet in the architraves, bands and copings, and the simple impost mouldings of this style of architecture.”¹ The finely machicolated half-octagonal front, from which great beauty of appearance is derived, was, according to Mr. Brannon, executed in the fourteenth century, and the archway here was much loftier than behind it; but still so narrow as to have required its sides to be since cut away, in order to widen the road. It was acutely pointed, and enriched by three sets of deep and sharply-cut mouldings, the outer joining a running drip in the front of the building. A strong buttress is carried up on each side, into the embattled parapet of the machicolations, which are very open. In the interior of the gateway, deeply recessed arches and elegant shafts still remain, though the mouldings which spring from them have been destroyed; and in the more ancient part are recesses, which were formerly entrances to the round towers, before they were blocked up by the construction of the footways, which are quite modern perforations.²

Sir Henry Englefield has given³ a list of the armorial bearings which appear upon a row of panels, alternately oblong and square, on the outside of the gate; each of the squares, and each spandril of the great arch, exhibiting a shield in relief. Numbering from the left, they consist of—1. England; 2. Paulet; 3. Tylney; 4. Lewis; 5. Noel; 6. Hewit; 7. Unknown; 8. Mill; 9. Scotland. On the arch spandrils—10. Wyndham; 11. Unknown.

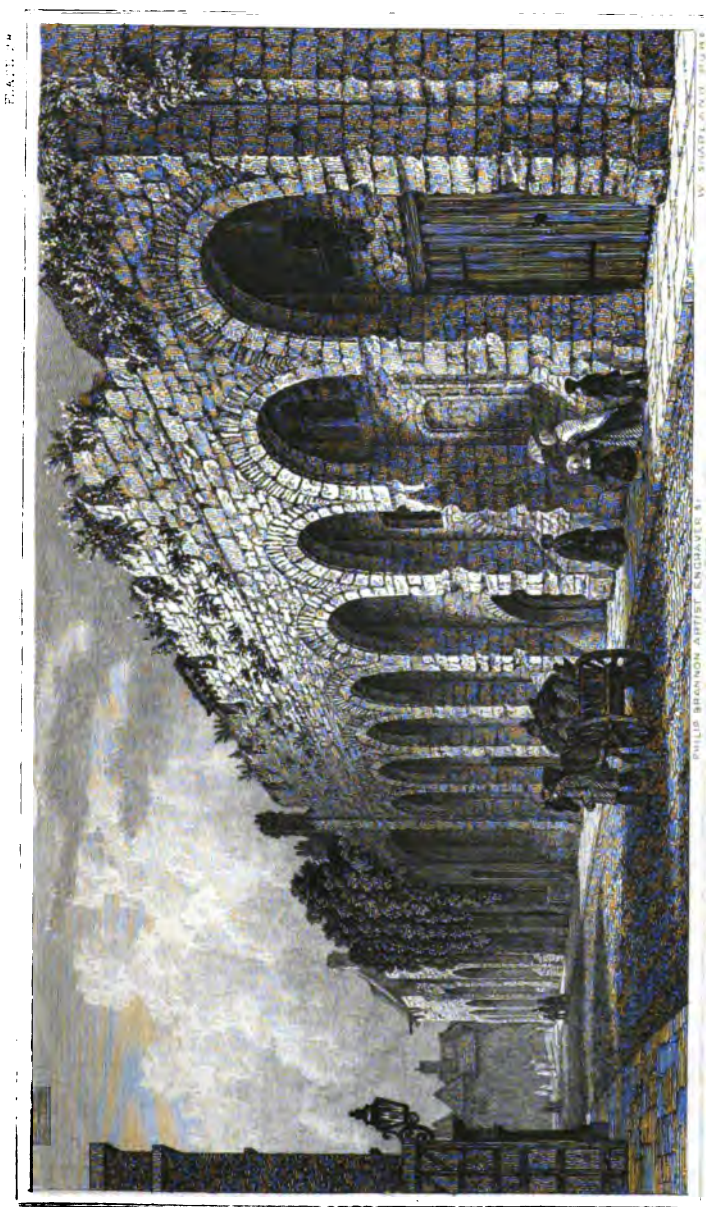
F. Tylney represented Southampton in Parliament in 1702; T. Lewis in 1715; S. C. Wyndham in 1679.

ampton as of transition Norman character, and suggested that the arcade might be a remnant of the walls built by the men of Southampton early in the reign of king John. See *Domestic Architecture in England*, p. 36: Oxford, 1851, 8vo.

¹ Brannon's *Southampton*, p. 31.

² *Ib.*, p. 32.

³ *Walk through Southampton*, p. 6. Edition by Bullar, 1841, 4to.



Arcade in the West Wall - Southampton.



The Barbican, London. A SHARP AND RUB.

The buttresses are each distinguished by a gloomy painting, one representing the celebrated knight, sir Bevis of Hampton, and the other Ascapard, whose renowned exploits are to be found in romance, and are connected with the legendary history of Southampton.¹ The present paintings were stated by Mr. Brannon to be about one hundred and seventy years old, and were probably only renewals of former ones. Adjoining them on the south side, and reared on pedestals, are two lions *sejant*, cast in lead. They were presented to the town by W. Lee,² when made a burgess in 1744, and replaced two that had formerly stood on the end of the bridge-parapets, outside of the ditches, and destroyed by time.

In 1852 Mr. John Elliott, of Southampton, architect, was engaged by the council of the corporation to enlarge the room over the Bar gate; and in the course of this work he had an opportunity of discovering many particulars in relation to the most ancient parts of the structure. Mr. Elliott has kindly laid the plans, restorations and details before the Association, accompanied by the following remarks: "The room over the Bar gate, at the northern entrance of Southampton, having been found too small for the increasing population of the town, the idea occurred to the mayor, Mr. Andrews, that it was capable of enlargement, and the council approving of his suggestion, the task was confided to me in 1852, of carrying the improvement into effect. In its then state it could be seen from the exterior that the old Norman gate had been enlarged in the fourteenth century, by the addition of a semi-octagon, fitting on to the two round towers of the old fortress, on its northern face. In the interior, at some subsequent date, an oblong room had been partitioned off in the old portion of the structure, to form a town-hall, and a small room obtained for the use of the magistrates in the fourteenth century addition. On removing the partitions put up to form these rooms, it was found that the architect who made the additions in the fourteenth century had left the Norman structure complete; and I was thus enabled to make

¹ See Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*. The Anglo-Saxon romance referred to represents the giant Ascapard conquered by sir Bevis, and afterwards made his page, in the following lines:

"This géaunt was mighty and strong,
And full thirty foot was long.
He was bristled like a sow;
A foot he had between each brow;
His lips were great, and hung aside;
His eyen were hollow, his mouth was wide:
Lothly he was to look on than,
And liker a devil than a man." (Vol. ii, p. 140.)

² Son of lord chief-justice Lee. (See *Edes Hartwelliana*, p. 65.) His MSS., very numerous, are preserved at Hartwell, in Bucks, by a descendant, Dr. John Lee, vice-president of the Association, who attended this Congress.

accurate drawings of its original state. The south side of the building could easily be restored ; at present it stands covered with cement, and disguised in the carpenters' gothic of forty years since ; the mullions of the windows are gone, but the jambs remain, and the inner arched heads were discovered when the lath and plaster improvement was removed.

" The style of the Norman Bar gate shows it to have been erected late in the twelfth century ; the style of the addition points to the latter part of the fourteenth century. Between these two periods the greater portion of the fortresses in this country were erected. They owed their erection chiefly to the development of the feudal system, by which a people became split up into small communities and little sovereigns ; by which general nationality became extinct, and central government all but impossible. During the continuance of this system, there was a constant succession of small fightings between rival barons, or lords and vassals, with occasional variations when municipal bodies, in their fortified towns, set at defiance some over-rapacious patron in the neighbourhood.

" When the feudal system fell into decay, foreign wars commenced—no longer between lord and vassal, but nation against nation, government against government. Isolated castles and small fortified towns then became useless ; the art of fortification was greatly improved, and exercised on a far more gigantic scale.

" The study of the military monuments of the middle ages possesses an interest beyond the mere gratification of curiosity ; it serves to illustrate the page of history—it gives an insight into the customs of our ancestors, and shows us the origin of many of our own peculiarities, habits and opinions.

" The Normans were the conquering race, the Saxons the conquered ; the latter, therefore, were permitted to rear and name while alive the domestic animals of the country, but these when dead chiefly went to the Norman's table, and the swine became *porc*, the sheep, *mouton*, and the oxen, *bœuf*. In like manner, though Saxon workmen were the real builders of the fortified towns and castles, the style and the names of each detail of the work show them to all time to have been for the victors' use. But these buildings show more than this ; they point back to the time when Norman and Saxon had each a common master, for although the Norman style can be distinguished by its greater refinement from the Saxon, both arose from the efforts of each to imitate the work of the Romans. In military architecture especially the Romans were the masters—Norman and Saxon each but pupils ; we must, therefore, expect to find our cities and castles in the middle ages fortified on Roman principles. This is particularly the case with Southampton, which exemplifies the favourite method of the Romans of choosing sites for their fortified camps or cities on ground sloping up from the shore or river side. The sides thus protected being the strongest, it became necessary to strengthen

the works facing the open country, by digging outer ditches, to keep the enemy from close approach to the walls. In those days it was only by the sap, undermining, the battering-ram, or some other mechanical contrivance, all requiring a nearer approach to be of any use, that a fortification could be injured.

"The passive resistance of the mass was the chief thing relied on. An extended front was a disadvantage: a castle being more easily defended than a town, and a small city than a great one. The advantage was so much on the side of the besieged, that a small but determined garrison became all but invincible. It was necessary to take each tower in succession; and if these, and the town itself, were taken, the garrison could retire into the castle, and from that into the yet stronger donjon within the castle enclosure. To secure the chance of assistance from without in such an emergency, the castle was placed close to the outer boundary of some part of the walls; in Southampton, its position was admirably chosen on the western side, on a mound which stood in what is now Lansdown-place.

"The Romans had brought to great perfection a variety of complicated machines, both for attack and defence; after their departure, the art of making and applying these appears to have been in great measure lost. During the Crusades, our countrymen appear to have recovered the knowledge of some of the old Roman military mechanism; the fruits of this knowledge, their own experience, and the lessons taught by their adversaries, may be seen by the improvements made subsequent to the great Eastern wars in the means of defence. When the besiegers learned to bring formidable machines close up to the walls, and to protect their men in trenches covered with sloping timbers, the old flanking towers did not afford sufficient protection; and from the embrasures of the old parapets, in a line with the walls, no missiles or weapons could be discharged at an enemy close to the base, without leaning out through the loupes, with the chance of an arrow passing through the body in the operation. As a remedy to this evil, machicolated parapets were invented, by which, the upper wall of defence being carried out from the main wall on corbels, a series of openings right over the foot of the walls were left, through which stones or melted lead could be dropped, or arrows shot with impunity to the archer. As the space left for the purpose in question was only alternate with the solid work over the corbels, an improvement was devised by building up a series of piers from the ground, arching them above, and building the parapet over, leaving a continuous opening vertical to the base of the main wall, through which stones and missiles, *ad libitum*, could be poured down on the unlucky besiegers who might venture to sap or mine."

Returning down High-street from the Bar-gate, the Association visited Holyrood church, accompanied by the rev. canon Wilson, the vicar, whose

obliging attentions and hospitality are most thankfully acknowledged. This church has undergone an almost complete restoration; and it has been ably accomplished, at a cost somewhat exceeding £4000. Its style of architecture is principally the decorated pointed, and as much of the old work as possible, the pier and arch stones, etc., have been preserved. In the course of the restoration, some ancient sedilia and *misereres* were discovered, and are now, together with the piscina and ambry, brought to light, and seen to advantage. There is also a fine wooden screen, of mixed Gothic, of the time of Elizabeth or James, well executed, and of a good design. There are also apertures formerly connected with the timbers of a rood-loft. The ground around the church was the ancient vicarage, alienated more than three hundred years ago, and now in the possession of the corporation. The church was formerly a priory church, and given to Queen's college soon after the Reformation. The living is very small in income, the only original endowment being about £40 (minister's and clerk's dues), which sum is now being disputed, and may probably lead to a chancery suit!

Time obliged the Association to hurry on their examination; and it remains only to notice a few other objects which deserve the attention of the antiquary. At West Quay, the corner of Blue Anchor-lane, are the remains of a house of very ancient date: indeed, Mr. Hudson Turner, in his work on *The Domestic Architecture of England*, says "it is probably the oldest house remaining in England, being of rather earlier character than either the Jews' house at Lincoln, or those at Christchurch in Hampshire, Boothby Pagnell in Lincolnshire, or Minster in the Isle of Thanet; all well known instances of the domestic architecture of England in the twelfth century, many of them belonging to the latter part, whilst the present example may be safely referred to the earlier part of that century. The principal dwelling rooms appear to have been on the first floor; and the fire-place remains, with Norman shafts in the jambs. The doorway is on the ground floor, and not, as in the early houses in the north of England, on the first floor only. There are no windows on the ground floor, but several on the first story. Several of these windows open outside of the town wall. From the circumstance that the arches of the town wall are built partly over the windows of the house, it is clear that they were erected subsequently: the masonry is also different. On the first floor there is a passage formed in the thickness of the wall, as was usual in fortifications of the period; and this probably communicated with the town wall, though the passage is now blocked up." The masonry on the right presents itself still sharp and beautiful, though of so exceedingly great age. There is a round arched doorway, with a drip over it, and a double window, corresponding to one in the face of the building, and a projecting flue-shaft supported on four square block corbels. This has been conjectured to have been inhabited by king John;

and considered a royal residence by Henry III. The present occupant most kindly permitted us to make a close inspection of the remains.

The subject of domestic architecture, in comparison with other objects of mediæval antiquity, has, in the opinion of Mr. Hallam, been but imperfectly treated. Mr. Twopeny, in the *Glossary of Ancient Architecture*, has remarked that "there is ample evidence yet remaining of the domestic architecture in this country during the twelfth century. The ordinary manor houses, and even houses of greater consideration, appear to have been generally built in the form of a parallelogram, two stories high; the lower story vaulted, with no internal communication between the two; the upper story approached by a flight of steps on the outside; and in that story was sometimes the only fire-place in the whole building. It is more than probable that this was the usual style of houses in the preceding century." Mr. Twopeny gives examples of the oldest known houses; and Mr. Hallam has adduced perhaps the oldest instance, the Norman house at Southampton just described, which he attributes to the beginning of the twelfth century.¹ In the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*² there is an excellent representation of the interior of this house, exhibiting the fire-place on the first floor. The chimney belonging to the fire-place is carried up to the top of the wall, and may probably have extended above it, though, as the roof is wanting, this cannot now be satisfactorily determined. The windows in the first story are of two lights, divided by a shaft, with capital and base.

Another building claimed attention on this occasion, "Le Maison Dieu", or God's house and chapel. Leland tells us, in his *Itinerary*,³—"There is an hospitale yn the town, toward the south, caullyd *Goddeshouse*, wheryn is a chapelle dedicate to Saynet *Juliane* the bishop. Thys hospitale was foundyd by 2 marchauntes, beyng bretherne....the one was caullyd *Ge*⁴ the other *Protesius*⁵ [of day by like]lihood that they were [borne].... These 2 brethren, as I there lernid, dwellyd yn the very place where the hospitale is, not at such tyme as *Old Hampton* was brent by pyrates. These 2 brethern for Goddes sake cause their house to be turnid to an hospitale for poore folkes, and endowed it with sum landes. I redde in an old registre at Wynchester, wher names of abbays, priories, and hospitales, that were of the patronage of the bishop of Wynchestre were named, emonge the which was *Hospitale, sive domus Dei de Hampton*. I take it this, that sum bishop of Wynchestre renewid the old fundation, adjecting more lande, and so had the patronage. Syns by the request of a quene it was impropriate to the Quenes College yn Oxforde. They maynteyn the hospitale, and take the residew of the profits." The queen alluded to by Leland was queen Philippa. The

¹ Supplementary Notes to View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages; p. 400, ed. 1848, 8vo.

² Vol. iv, p. 12.

³ Vol. iii, pp. 107-8.

⁴ Gervasius.

⁵ Protosius.

possessions of this ancient religious house were large, and given by the queen to the founding of Queen's college in Oxford, on condition of maintaining four sisters and four brothers, fixing their allowance at two shillings per week; to which has been added, by a benevolent individual, one shilling more. The vicar of Holy Rood has usually been the steward of God's House, to collect the rents, etc. No particular qualifications are set for the election. They have each a small house and garden, with a few perquisites.

This establishment, it thus appears, was founded in the reign of Henry III, by two merchants. By Philippa, in the reign of Edward III, it was given to Queen's college, in whose possession it still remains. It adjoins the South gate, and can be approached through a narrow and dark lane in Winkle-street. At its entrance is a high gate and tower, surmounted by an ancient cross; and, with the chapel at the side, forms a rather picturesque object. Entering the court, the buildings on the left are found to be of the modern Tudor period; whilst those on the right, forming the ancient dwellings, are shrouded in trees and shrubs. These merit attention: the windows are flat-headed, with a quarter-round projection from the jamb at each angle. The entrance to the chapel is by a very small doorway; and in this chapel the Protestant service was directed by Elizabeth to be performed for the Protestants of the Netherlands, who had fled from the persecutions of the duke of Alva and their Spanish invaders. The service is still performed in the French language here, for the benefit of foreigners. In this chapel the earl of Cambridge, lord Scrope of Marham, and sir Thomas Grey, who were convicted of conspiring to murder Henry V, in 1415, were buried after their summary execution; and a tablet was put up to commemorate the event, by lord Delawarr, some years since. The chapel exhibits an example of the transition from the Norman, and displays some good work of the time. The windows have, however, been so modernized as to take away entirely all ancient appearance when viewed from the street. There are good sculptured capitals in the chancel arch, which is almost early English, together with the gabled roof and the tower. The doorways are round-headed; the windows have only a single light, their heads being of the form known as the square-headed trefoil. Similar almshouses and chapels were established at each of the Cinque Ports, and also at other sea ports.

It remains only to mention Canute's palace, in Porter's-lane, of which very small portions indeed are now to be seen. These consist principally of mouldings and archways, and are worked up into publichouses and stores. One of the double windows, however, fortunately is still extant, and therefore exhibits one of its architectural features. Mr. Brannon says that on the ground-floor there were elliptical-headed entrances; and in the centre of the upper story, three nearly semicircular windows, sepa-

rated by wide piers, and having a connected drip-moulding over them. At each side, he also informs us, was a smaller window, double round-headed, and enclosed by a recessed elliptical arch, and drip over it. The outside wall was constructed with small, regularly-squared stones; the mouldings were well cut, in the Roman style; and the lateral windows had small pillars with foliated capitals. Sir Henry Englefield has conjectured that Canute resided at Southampton at the period of the recorded scene on the beach, when the king reproved his courtiers by commanding the tide to retire and presume not to wet the royal feet. The extent of the front to the street, according to sir H. Englefield, was one hundred and eleven feet; and its height seventeen feet, from the present level of the street. It was divided into two stories by a semicircular fascia, or cord; the lower story being ten, and the upper seven feet high. In the lower, or ground-floor, two doors, with flat arches of segments of circles, were discernible, which were irregularly placed; one of which does not appear to be coeval with the original building. But the upper story was perfectly regular, excepting one smaller window at the west end; and pierced with a noble triple window in the centre, with two very handsome ones, of rather less size, on each side. Sir. H. Englefield has given good views of this building.¹

The foregoing survey having been completed, the greater portion of the company adjourned to dinner, and in the evening again assembled in the council chamber of the Audit House, sir Fortunatus Dwaris, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair, supported by the mayor and several members of the corporation. The chairman called the attention of the Association to several objects of interest covering the tables, some of which deserve to be here specially noticed.

George Atherley, esq., of Southampton, a member of the Association from its commencement, who was prevented by illness from being present, sent for exhibition a large collection of beautiful impressions from seals, relating to Hampshire. They were one hundred and thirty-six in number, and were as follow:—1. Seal of the men of Alverstoke; 2. Andover; 3. Andover; 4. Basingstoke; 5. Beaulieu Abbey; 6. Beaulieu Regis; 7. Bramore Priory; 8. Bramer Priory; 9, 10. Carisbrooke Priory; 11. Hyde Abbey; 12. Hyde Abbey common seal; 13. Lymington; 14. Montisford Trinity Priory; 15. Montisford, Henry, prior of; 16. Netley Abbey; 17. Netley Abbey common seal; 18. Netley Abbey Priory; 19. Netley Abbey; 20. Newport; 21. Newport; 22. Newport statute merchant; 23. Petersfield; 24. Portsmouth; 25. Portsmouth common seal; 26.

¹ See *Walk through Southampton*. The drawings from which these were taken were exhibited during the Congress. The measurements of the several windows, etc., are given in sir H. Englefield's work, pp. 33, 34. See also *Archæologia*; and an article "On Construction in Norman Architecture", in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Jan. 1833. The writer of this paper assigns the building to the last half of the twelfth century.

Portsmouth, prepositor of; 27. Portsmouth Hospital; 28, 29. Quarre Abbey; 30. Rumsey Town; 31. Rumsey Abbey; 32. Selbourne St. Mary Priory; 33. Selbourne St. Mary Priory, John, prior of; 34. Selbourne St. Mary Priory, Peter, prior of; 35. Southampton; 36, 37. Southampton common seal; 38, 39. Southampton corporation; 40, 41. Southampton, mayor of; 42, 43. Southampton, sheriff; 44. Southampton common seal; 45, 46. Southampton staple; 47. Southampton subsidy for cloth; 48, 49. Southampton bailiffs; 50, 51, 52. Southampton, prepositor; 53. Prepositor, Christ Church; 54, 55. St. Denis, Priory of; 56. St. Denis, Priory of—Richard, prior of; 57. Le Maison Dieu; 58. Le Maison Dieu common seal; 59. Southampton, St. Mary's Hospital; 60. Southampton Grammar School; 61. Southwick Priory; 62. Southwick Priory common seal; 63, 64, 65. Southwick Priory; 66. Twynham Priory or Christ Church; 67. Twynham Priory or Christ Church, Edmund, prior of, 1320; 68. Twynham Priory or Christ Church, 1425; 69. Winchester, mayor of; 70. Winchester staple; 71. Winchester common seal; 72. Winchester staple; 73, 74. Winchester Cathedral; 75, 76. Winchester Cathedral common seal; 77. Winchester, William, prior of St. Swithin; 78. Richard, bishop of Winton, 1174; 79. Richard, bishop of Winton, common seal; 80. Godfrey de Lucy, 1189; 81. Godfrey de Lucy, common seal; 82. Peter de Rupibus, 1238; 83. Nicholas Eliensis or de Ely, 1268; 84. John de Pointes, 1282; 85, 86. John de Stratford, 1323; 87. William of Edyngton, 1365; 88. William de Waynflete, 1447; 89. Stephen Gardener, 1531; 90. Commissioners of Bishop of Winton; 91. Winton Elizabeth College; 92, 93. Winton, archdeacons of; 94. Winton, commissary of; 95. Winton College; 96. Winton, mayor of; 97. Fraternity of St. Mary Calendar; 98. Fraternity of St. Peter's; 99. Winton, Hospital of St. Mary; 100, 101. Winton, St. Mary Abbey; 102. Alexander, prior of St. Swithen's, 1344; 103. Henry de Blois, 1129; 104. Henry Woodlake, 1305; 105, 106, 107. William de Wyckham, 1367; 108, 109. Henry Beaufort, cardinal, 1405; 110. William Waynflete, 1455; 111. Robert Horne, 1561; 112. Burton Holy Trinity Priory; 113. Hyde Abbey; 114, 115. Hyde Abbey, abbot of; 116. Romsey Abbey; 117. Romsey Abbey, Constance, abbess of; 118. Newport; 119. Southwick, Will. Dene, prior of; 120. Selsea Abbey; 121. Selsea Abbey common seal; 122, 123, 124. Andover; 125. Basingstoke; 126. Lymington; 127. Sherbourne; 128. Wynton City; 130, 131, 132. Matthew Woodford, archdeacon of Wynton, 1795; 133. Southwick Priory; 134. Southwick Priory, counterpart; 135, 136. Southwick counter-seal. The foregoing list may prove useful to inquirers; and Mr. Atherley will always be happy to assist antiquaries in any researches they may be desirous of making.

J. R. Stebbing, esq. exhibited some antiquities obtained as plunder from the Museum at Kertch. They consisted chiefly of vases, some of

which were Grecian, and of elegant form. The possessor of these took the opportunity of remarking upon the unsatisfactory state of the law as regarded the property of institutions similar to that of the Polytechnic of Southampton, of which he was the president, and which had lately prevented its members from purchasing a valuable building, in which a suitable museum might have been placed, from the insecurity of the tenure of property held by such a body. The town of Southampton, he observed, was continually losing valuable articles of scientific and antiquarian interest, from the want of a museum large enough to contain them. He should have much pleasure in presenting the specimens brought away from the Kertch Museum, whenever a suitable place should be obtained for their safe deposit.

The rev. E. Kell laid before the meeting several Greek and Roman coins, which had been found at various times in the Isle of Wight, seventeen of which were discovered in the course of making excavations in the streets of Newport. Mr. Kell also exhibited some specimens of Romano-British pottery found at Crockle in the New Forest, and some portions of Samian ware found at Clausentum.

Mr. Holt exhibited specimens of ancient British urns found on Beaulieu Common, about three miles distant from Hythe.

The mayor of Southampton exhibited some large and curious specimens of needle-work of the time of Elizabeth; also, some good examples of carving belonging to the seventeenth century.

Mr. Pettigrew drew attention to an extensive collection of drawings of stone crosses, from which engravings are now being executed, and will speedily be published by their associate, Mr. Le Keux. Mr. Pettigrew urged the members and visitors to promote this important undertaking, which embraces a consideration of churchyard, monumental and boundary crosses, high crosses, preaching crosses and market crosses, and is to be illustrated by one hundred engravings.

A paper by W. D. Bennett, esq., "On Roman Pottery found at Portsmouth, near Southampton, in August 1852," was then read: "In making a new road near St. Denys', Southampton (directly opposite the Roman station, Clausentum), the workmen observed, while cutting through a small hill, that the gravel and earth had been at some former period disturbed, and at about the depth of three feet below the surface, they discovered the remains of a skeleton, lying north and south, the head being to the southward; the bones were so completely decayed as to crumble beneath the touch. The head and shoulders were surrounded by a row of much corroded iron spikes; and on the right-hand side of the head, the small red vase (No. 1) was found. It is about six inches in height, with one small handle. On the left was a small vase of fine hard brown ware, ornamented with three double stripes of white (No. 2): it is about four-and-a-half inches in height, and, with the former, is

in very good preservation. A small black earthenware pan was likewise found, but was destroyed by the workmen.



"On proceeding a short distance in a westerly direction, some more remains were fallen in with, lying in a similar manner, and at the same depth as those just described. A large piece of broken red tile was found placed over the skull, which was tolerably firm, while the rest of the bones were completely decayed. Iron spikes and two small vases of brown ware were found situated as in the former instance. One is quite perfect; the other, unfortunately, has the neck broken off (Nos. 3 and 4). Near these were fragments of red Roman tiles, with the well-known scratched cross pattern; broken pottery, of common grey ware; a fragment of coarse whitish ware, with pounded quartz adhering to the inside, and a small pan of Samian ware (No. 5), unfortunately irreparably damaged by the workmen, and only some of the fragments preserved. The bottom, on the inside, is stamped with the letter C, and across that, in smaller letters, 'CENITORI.'

"It is a curious fact, that these are the only remains of a Roman origin that have been discovered on this side of the river, the Roman station 'Clausentum' being almost immediately opposite on the other."

The specimens described in the foregoing paper are in the possession of Mr. Augustus H. Skelton, of St. Denys. They were unfortunately too brittle to be exposed to the risk of accident by carriage, and could not therefore be laid before the meeting. The drawings from which the cuts have been made were executed by Mr. Bennett.

The following letter, with various sketches of British, Roman and Saxon urns, from John Adey Repton, esq., F.S.A., addressed to the treasurer, was also read: "Most of the members of the British Archæ-

ological Society are well acquainted with the funeral urns found in this country; but there may be a few persons who attend the meeting, who are not well acquainted with the difference between the British urns and those of the Roman and early Saxon; to such I hope the few sketches I have the honour to send you may be of use in determining the character of such urns as will probably be discovered in the barrows of the Isle of Wight.

"There can be no doubt that the island was filled with inhabitants long before it was invaded by the Romans: it is likely, therefore, that many British urns will be found, and also from about the middle or the end of the first century, when Vespasian reduced the maritime places of the Belgæ, from the promontory of Kent to the Land's-end, which also includes the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, Wiltshire, &c., to the extremity of Cornwall. The British Isles were discovered by the Phœnicians to be already inhabited, about four hundred and fifty years before the Christian era.

"The general form of Roman urns is distinguished by the graceful taste of its outline, very different from that of the early Saxon or the Merovingian. From a late valuable publication by the Abbé Cochet, we are now better acquainted with the urns of the early Saxons, which are not to be confounded with the heavy British urns of the second, third or fourth centuries before the Christian era.

"In the sketches, which are chiefly copied from different publications, they are represented in the drawing with the mouth *upward*, but should be with the mouth *downward*, as they were found; and when full of bones they were covered with a cloth, and fastened with a pin: the cloth decays, but the pin is frequently found remaining, as in a beautiful British urn which was discovered in Sussex with the pin. This urn is represented in the first volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Journal* with the mouth upward, but described in the letter-press as being discovered with the mouth *downward*.

"Amongst the *Romans*, the urns are more commonly found with the mouth upward, and (when full of bones) they are frequently covered with a plain tile or with an elegant cover, as in an urn described in vol. xxv of the *Archæologia*.

"Several urns covered with a lid may be seen in the British Museum."

The sketches represented British urns discovered in barrows in South Dorsetshire, near Dorchester. These have not been hardened by means of a kiln, but simply dried by exposure to the heat of the sun or the action of fire. British urns also, from Buxton in Norfolk (see *Archæologia*, vol. xiii); from Colney, Norfolk (*Ib.*, vol. xiv); from Wiltshire (see sir R. C. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*); from a cairn in North Britain; Roman urns from Cambridgeshire (see *Archæologia*, vol. xxvi.); from Derbyshire (*Ib.*, vol. xii); from Lincolnshire (*Ib.*, vol. xii); from York-

shire (*Ib.*, vol. xxv); Anglo-Saxon or Merovingian urns from Kent (*Ib.*, vol. xxx); from Norfolk (*Ib.*, vol. xviii).

A paper by the rev. Beale Poste, being a "Historical Sketch of the Ancient British Belgæ," was read (see pp. 205-213 *ante*), after which the meeting adjourned.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25.

The Association assembled at the Audit House at ten, a.m., to proceed to Netley Abbey, where an extemporaneous lecture was delivered by Mr. Philip Brannon, explanatory of the architecture of the building, even to its minutest details. The particulars of this investigation will undergo revision by Mr. Brannon, and appear with illustrations in a future number of the Journal. The thanks of the Association are due to the worshipful the mayor of Southampton, who accompanied the members in their tour, and hospitably refreshed them in the abbey grounds. Returning to Southampton, the closing meeting of the congress took place in the Audit House, T. J. Pettigrew, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

The thanks of the Association were voted by acclamation to H.R.H. the Prince Albert, K.G., etc., etc., etc., for the distinguished honour of his patronage.

Also to the lord Heytesbury, governor of the Isle of Wight, for his obliging attentions.

To the vice-presidents and other officers of the Association attending the congress.

To the rev. Allan Wallace, M.A., and J. Alfred Pittis, esq., of Newport, and to the rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A., of Portswood, Southampton, for their services as local secretaries; to the corporation of Newport, for access to the records of the town, and for the use of the Town Hall during the congress; to the mayor and corporation of Southampton, for access to their charters and ancient documents, and for the use of the Audit House for their meetings; to the directors and curators of the Isle of Wight Museum Society, for their obliging exhibition of the Museum during the congress; to the managers of the Reading Room at Newport, for their liberal admission of the members and visitors of the Association during the congress; to the clergy of the Isle of Wight and of Southampton, for access to their several churches; to Mr. Philip Brannon, for his great exertions in explaining the antiquities of Southampton, and his admirable discourse on Netley Abbey; to the authors of the several papers read at the congress, and to the exhibitors of antiquities during the same; and to the gentlemen of the press, for the copious and faithful manner in which the proceedings had been reported; and to the chairman, for his great courtesy to all present at the congress, and his un-

deviating attention to the comforts of all and the interests of the Association. These several votes having been acknowledged, the society separated, highly gratified at the very effective manner in which the congress had been conducted, and the harmonious spirit which had prevailed throughout the week.

The arrangements of the Association would not permit of intended visits to Quarr abbey, the priory of St. Dionysius, and Beaulieu abbey, of which, however, some particulars will appear in the next *Journal*; and we shall conclude our account of the Congress by a notice of a very curious tract obligingly forwarded to the Association by Mr. Halliwell, of which he had reprinted only a very small impression; interesting both in regard to its connexion with the place of meeting, and as a hitherto unknown record of the last days of Charles I. "The tract itself," Mr. Halliwell observed, "is unnoticed by all bibliographers; no copy of it is in any of our public libraries, and only two exemplars are known to exist. The one from which the present reprint was taken, was lent to me by my late friend sir Cuthbert Sharp; and was purchased, after his death, by the rev. Alex. Dyce. The other copy was sold at Messrs. Sotheby's, some time ago, as unique, and produced literally more than 'its weight in gold'. The rarity of the pamphlet is readily accounted for by its then unpopular tendency."

The title of the pamphlet is "Tailors Travels from London to the Isle of Wight; with his Returne, and occasion of his Journey." It is like Tailor's other works, written partly in prose and partly in verse, and is of equal merit with his other better known productions. At the foot of the first page we read, "printed at the author's charge, and are no where to be sold, 1648." Tailor undertook this journey principally, as he expresses it, from "a great importunate desire to see my gracious soveraigne afflicted lord and master." After recounting his progress from London to Southampton by coach, thence to Cowes by water, and giving a particular account of his accidents on horseback, he arrived at Newport. He found his majesty "with an heroick and unconquered patience", conquering "his unmatchable afflictions", and with Christian constancy expecting "a happy deliverance out of all his troubles". He avers that the king is "twice every day, with his meniall servants, upon his knees, in publique prayers to his God, besides his frequent and pious cogitations and ejaculations"; and he is engaged in exercising the royal touch for the cure of various maladies, of which Tailor records seven extraordinary cases. The tract concludes by the following remarks:

"These things, methinks, should move the mindes of some unmanly levellers to esteeme his majesty as one that is not to be ranked or filed with common men. Concerning any newes of businesse at the treaty, there is so much made of it at London, that there is little (or none at all) at the court: this is certaine, that from the twenty-first of October

till the first of November (being eleven days), there was no debating or treating at all; for sir Peter Killigrew was all that time from the Island to the parliament at Westminster, and till his return with orders and directions, all things were silent. However, the *London Mercuries* and *Moderate Occurrences* did not faile to set forth newes (of their owne making) every weeke. All that I can relate is, that sir Peter came to the king on Tuesday night, the last of October; and the next day (being the quondam All Saints), his majesty, with the commissioners, began to treat; where it was agreed that the Presbyterian government, in the church, should continue three yeares; that the book of Common Prayer should be discontinued, and not used publicly; that no masse should be tolerated to be sayd in the kingdomes of England and Ireland, or in the principality of Wales. These matters of high consequence being concluded and agreed, there is great hope of speedy restoration of his majesty to his just rights, and a blessed peace for the church, people, and kingdomes.

"I came from the Island on Tuesday the seventh of November, and landed at a place called Hell Head; from thence I came three miles to Tichfield; on Wednesday I came four miles to Wickham; Thursday, to Warnford, seven miles; Fryday, I footed it seventeen miles to Alton and to Farnham; Saturday, to Guilford and to Cobham, eighteen miles; and Sunday, six miles to Kingston; and on Monday, the thirteenth of November, I came to London, ten miles.

"And as I have written merrily, truely, and impartially, so I must conclude accordingly, without flattery, concerning the governour of the Isle of Wight, colonel Hammond. The plaine truth is, that myself, with many others, did hate him so much, that he was very seldom or never prayed for. The reasons and motives which possest most men with this mistaking and misapplied inveterate malice, was upon the flying, lying reports that the governour had behaved himself most coarsely rigid and barbarously unrespective to his majesty. The false weekly pamphlets, and pamphleteers (being inspired by their father, the divell) were not ashamed to publish in print, that the governour had proceeded so far in incivility, as to immure, or wall, his majesty in a small, close roome, under many bolts, bars, grates, locks, and keyes, and debarred him the comforts of his soule, and of the society of men; and further, it was often printed (by severall lying villaines) that the sayd governour Hammond did strike the king on the face, and gave him a black eye. These reports being invented by the devill's imps (the firebrands of contention), printed and published by needy, greedy knaves and varlets, and believed by too many fooles and foolish Gotehamists (amongst which number I, with much simplicity, was one); and as by oath and duty I am bound to save, love, and honour, my soveraigne lord and master, so (on the contrary) myselfe, with all true and loyall subjects, had no cause to be well affected

to any man that should dare to affront his majesty with such transcendant base indignities.

“But to give the world satisfaction of the truth, it is certaine that all those aspersions and rumours against the governour are most odious, scandalous, and malicious lies; for, according to the trust reposed in him, he hath alwayes carried himselfe with such deportment and humblenesse of dutifull service to his majesty, that he hath gained much love and favour from his soueraigne, and such good regard from all knowing men, as belongs to a gentleman of his place and quallity.

“And therefore, reader, understand and note,
Who ever says I lye, he lies in 's throate.
Blest England's joy (the king) will come ere long;
Praise God, make bonfires, swing the bells, ding dong!
And let him never beare a Christian's name
Whose trade and pleasure is in blood and flame
Of his deare country; and rip, rend, and teare,
His mother's womb, that such a brat did beare.”

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 28, 1855.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following associates were announced to have been elected since the 23rd May.

E. W. Wyon, esq., 19A, Stanhope-street, Hampstead-road.
— Leuchars, esq., 38, Piccadilly.
Edmond Braithwaite, M.D., Newport, Isle of Wight.
William Biggs, esq., M.P., 16, Pall Mall.
Sir William Martins, 3, Hyde Park-gardens.
Sampson Payne, esq., Southampton.
Douglas Savery, esq., ditto.
Philip Brannon, esq., ditto.
J. R. Stebbing, esq., ditto.
Rev. E. D. Scott, M.A., Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight.
Rev. Edw. M'Call, M.A., Brightstone, ditto.
Rev. D. I. Heath, M.A., Brading, ditto.
Rear-admiral sir Augustus Clifford, bart., C.B., 92, Eaton-square.
James Coape, esq., Mirables, Niton, Isle of Wight.
Robert White, esq., Northwood park, Isle of Wight.
Thomas Chapman, esq., 23, Brunswick-square.
Samuel Shaw, esq., Andover.
John Alger, esq., Oriental Club.
John Evans, esq., F.S.A., Hemel Hempstead.
G. F. Sargent, esq., Alfred-place, Bedford-square.
Miss Annie Masson, 50, Porchester-terrace.

The following were elected local members of council :—

For Southampton : The Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., F.S.A.

For Bath : Charles E. Davis, esq., F.S.A.

For Cheshire : T. N. Brushfield, esq., Chester.

Donations were announced from H.R.H. Prince Albert, K.G., etc; George Ade, esq.; G. H. Baskcomb, esq.; and H. Syer Cuming, esq.; to the fund for illustration of the *Journal*.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

- From the Royal Society.* Their Proceedings. Nos. 13, 14, and 15. 8vo.
- From the Society of Antiquaries.* Archæologia, vol. xxxvi, Part I; 4to. Proceedings, Nos. 41, 42, 43; 8vo. List of Fellows, 1855; 8vo.
-
- *of Scotland.* Their Proceedings. Parts I, II, and III. 4to. Edinb., 1852-5.
- From the Archæological Institute.* Archæological Journal. Nos. 46 and 47. 8vo.
- From the Arundel Society.* Catalogue of Ivory Carvings, by E. Oldfield; 4to. Exhibition of Drawings, etc., in the Crystal Palace; 8vo.
- From the New Orleans Academy.* Their Proceedings; Part I, 8vo., 1854. Constitution and Bye-Laws of; 8vo.
- From the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society.* Their Proceedings for 1854. 8vo.
- From the Surrey Archæological Society.* Report of Council for 1854. 8vo.
- From the Smithsonian Institute.* Contributions to Knowledge; vol. vii, 4to. Eighth and Ninth Annual Reports; 2 vols., 8vo.
- From the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.* Their Transactions; vol. vii, 8vo.
- From the Cambrian Institute.* The Cambrian Journal; Part VII, 8vo.
- From the Cambrian Archæological Association.* Archæologia Cambrensis. Nos. 3 and 4; 8vo.
- From the Author.* Picture of Southampton, by P. Brannon; 8vo. Guide to Bournemouth; 8vo. Facsimile of an ancient Plan of Southampton; 4to.
-
- Observations on an ancient Talisman brought from Syria. By John Lindsay. 4to. Cork, 1855.
-
- British Antiquities: their Present Treatment, and their Real Claims. By A. Henry Rhind. Edinb., 8vo.
-
- Rapport sur les Fouilles Pratiquées au Village de Vieux, près Caen. Par M. A. Charma. 8vo. Paris, 1855.
-
- Catalogue of Rings in the Collection of the Hon. R. C. Neville, F.S.A. 8vo.
- From J. G. Nichols, esq.* The Gentleman's Magazine, from July to November, 1855.
- From T. Sherratt, esq.* Engraving of gateway of Carisbrooke castle.
- From Sir F. Dwarries, V.P.* Lithograph of the south porch of Chester cathedral.

Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., exhibited, by permission of Lady Fellows, two highly interesting finger rings. The earliest is of the fifteenth century, and is an example of what is frequently termed a betrothing ring. It is of silver, with clasped hands in front, and the flat hoop engraved on the outside with the words, "In hope is help." This ring had been erro-

neously denominated an Anglo-Saxon ring, and reported to have been taken from the finger of the skeleton of a female, in a tomb near Oxford. It may be compared with one of the same date, given in the *Journal*, vol. vi, p. 152, fig. 4. The second ring is of gold, of the close of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century. On a small oblong plate is engraved the figure of St. Michael slaying the Dragon, and within the hoop is the motto, "*Tout pour vous.*"

Mr. Pettigrew also produced from Lady Fellows' collection the beautiful needlework miniature of Charles I, described in Mr. H. Syer Cuming's paper "On the Relics of Charles I (see p. 235, *ante.*), and exhibited by Lady Fellows at the late congress.

Mr. F. J. E. Jervoise, of Herriard-park, exhibited through Captain Tupper, the remains of a life-size portrait, on oak panel, said to be of Charles I. It is a masterly production, much in the style of Vandyke, but certainly prior to his time. The face is turned towards the right, the complexion is fair, the moustache and little pointed beard of a light brown, and the hair of the head of a very much darker hue, reaching to the shoulders. The black doublet is close-fitting, long-waisted, and pointed in front; a fashion which fixes the date of the picture to the close of the reign of Elizabeth or early part of that of James I. Round the neck is a narrow white collar or falling-band, and the wristband is of the same colour. The left hand (the one remaining) rests upon the hip, and the little finger is adorned with a ring, the jewels of which form a cross. Captain Tupper read the following communication from Mr. Jervoise regarding this painting:—

"The only history I know about it is, that many years ago my uncle found it by accident; he having trod on an apparently loose board, which turned over, and to his surprise presented the painting. This happened at Shalston-house, in the county of Bucks, the residence, for many generations, of the 'Purefoy' family, my uncle's original name being 'Purefoy.' I have very little doubt of its being a portrait of the king; and it agrees with Hume's description of him, who says: 'This prince was of a comely presence, of a sweet but melancholy aspect; his face was regular, handsome, and well-proportioned.'

"How the picture got there I know not; but it evidently had been nailed down to preserve it, though it had a narrow escape of being ruined; for though the nail which still remains in it is a harmless one, the other in the face has damaged it; and probably, as there are but two nails, the person in nailing it down put it by mistake at the wrong end of the picture."

Mr. M. O'Connor laid before the meeting a richly wrought cross of silver, which he considered to be the work of the fourteenth century, and which is the archetype of the "Pugin's cross" now sold in the shops of the Roman Catholic booksellers. Each limb of the cross terminates

in a quarterfoil; and on one side is the crucified Saviour, and on the other the crowned figure of the Virgin, holding the child Jesus in her arms.

Mr. John Barrow, F.R.S., F.S.A., exhibited a Chinese coin usually known by Europeans as "Cash," but by the natives as *Tsëen*. From the characters impressed, we learn that it was struck in the reign of *Këen-Lung*, and therefore belongs to the latter part of the eighteenth century. Eight hundred of these pieces are of the estimated value of one Spanish dollar. The name of the sovereign, and two characters, *Jung Paou*, implying the previous circulating medium of the emperor, are upon one side; the reverse has two Tartar words. It was obtained by a nephew of Mr. Barrow, at the Seven Churches, near Glendalough, where it was dug up at a depth of seven feet. It is of a finer metal, and thicker in substance, than the coin of the present day.

Mr. J. Clarke, of Easton, exhibited a silver penny of Stephen, in excellent preservation, and of rarity, found at Framlingham, Suffolk. The *obverse* reads ✠ STIFNE REX; *reverse*, TERCION NORPIC.¹ The bust of the sovereign is represented in three-quarter face, and his head is crowned with a diadem composed of three fleurs-de-lis. He holds a sceptre, fleury, in his left hand. Mr. Clarke also exhibited a so-called penny of Edward I, found likewise at Framlingham. *Obv.*, LUDOVICI RUFIPER; *rev.*, A...OVENSIS (? *Gandovens*) MONETA. In one angle there is an eagle. This is one of the counterfeit sterling struck in Flanders, the history of which is well detailed by Mr. Akerman.² Two other exhibitions were made by Mr. Clarke: one, a token of Saxmundham, bearing the name of John Knight, found at Brandeston; the other, a fine medal of Charles I, from Woodbridge, bearing around the following: "*Give thy judgments, O God, unto the king, and thy righteousness unto the king's son.*"

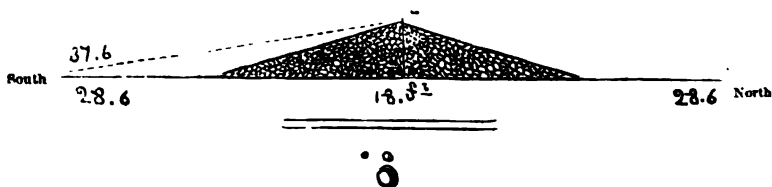
Sir Charles Fellows communicated the following particulars relative to the examination of an ancient British barrow in the Isle of Wight: "About three miles to the north-west of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, I have a farm called Vittlefield. In recounting the limits of Parkhurst Forest, as seen by the Old Court Book of Newport, thirty-eighth of Edward III (1365), this farm is called Fithelfeld, lying to the west of the forest. The very common change of the f for v at once gives the name of the farm, continued for the last five hundred years. On this farm, one field has been called 'Barrow-field;' and a slight swell or mound, rising three feet above the level of the rest of the field, indicated the site of an ancient barrow. To ascertain the nature of this tumulus, I, on the 25th of September last, commenced its examination. On the highest portion of the mound I placed a stone (see woodcut), from which I measured in each direction thirty-seven feet six inches to its base, or level of the field; I then, with two gangs of men, commenced

¹ The P representing the Anglo-Saxon p, as on the coins of William the Conqueror. See Akerman's *Numismatic Manual*, p. 257.

² *Ib.*, p. 262.

carrying in the level of the field, from the north and from the south, in a line toward the centre. After proceeding about twenty-eight feet through clay and gravel, the same as the rest of the field, each gang came upon large flints. I then removed the soil about a foot in thickness, from the intervening space or mound of eighteen feet across, and found that it was composed entirely of large flint stones, none of less size than a man's fist. No soil was mixed with these; and the percolation of moisture through the interstices, had stained the whole of the flints a red clay-like colour. Removing chiefly by hand these stones, to the depth of two feet in the centre, and gradually less to the base of the mound, we came to the natural soil on the level of the field. Upon this level, covered with stones and under the centre, were the fragments of a jar, of coarse manufacture, and of a kind usually found in ancient British barrows: within and with this were burnt human bones and pieces of charcoal. About a foot distant, towards the west, was another small pot, and with its fragments bones were also found. Similar fragments of another were found, about a foot to the south of this. Some of the flints were stained with black, as if by fire; but no other trace of art was detected. Immediately about these remains, was earth of a darker colour than the natural soil, and which I attributed to the 'debris' of the pottery; but it may have been the burnt earth and ashes piled over the jars at the time of the burial. From this investigation, we must infer that a human body—I think not more than one—had been burnt, probably on the spot, and the bones collected and placed in earthen vessels upon the level of the earth: the ashes of the charcoal fire may have been piled upon them. A carne or cairn—a heap of stones—was raised over this, possibly as in some countries of the present day; shewing by their numbers the extent of respect paid by their friends. Upon this cairn earth was spread, forming a tumulus; and over it the plough has probably passed for fifteen hundred years. I add a sketch, showing a section of the barrow."

Section of the Mound. Scale, 24 feet to 1 inch.



The position of the Urns in the Barrow.

Mr. P. Brannon drew the attention of the Association to the threatened destruction of some ancient buildings in Southampton, visited by the Association at their late congress, and called upon the members, by the expression of their opinion on the subject, to interpose and avert the

proposed demolition. From the communications of Mr. Brannon, it appears that, in the course of a comparatively few years, not less than two-thirds of the town fortifications, besides the castle, palatinal and civic edifices, have been destroyed; and that the singularly interesting arcade and palace, together with the south gate and castle, previously the gaol, are now threatened with removal. Mr. Brannon has most laudably exerted himself to point out the archæological value of the fortifications; and he calls upon the townspeople of Southampton, and all interested in historical and antiquarian inquiries, to assist him in inducing the corporation to forego their intention of removing them.

That such intention should be carried into effect, would be exceedingly to be deplored; seeing that the remains constitute one of the finest examples of military defences of mediæval towns, which have withstood the destructive power of time, and which have offered to the antiquarian visitor one of the greatest attractions of the town of Southampton.

To avert the presumed determination of the town council to demolish the buildings referred to by Mr. Brannon, the chairman acquainted the meeting that the council had resolved upon addressing the mayor and corporation of Southampton on the subject.

Mr. Planché read some observations on a sculptured slab of the eleventh or early part of the twelfth century, seen by the Association at their late visit to Shalfleet church, in the Isle of Wight. (See pp. 302-305, *ante*.)

A portion of a paper "On Etruscan Tombs," giving a particular description of one presumed to be unique, discovered at Cervetri, the ancient Cœre, by the marchese Campana, described and illustrated by sir Gardner Wilkinson, V.P., was read, and will appear in the Journal for March 1856.

DECEMBER 12.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following additional associates were elected:—

S. C. Westfahl, esq., 1, Lonsdale-square, Islington.

Robert Allington Long, esq., 17, Stanhope-street, Regent's-park.

Henry Dennett Cole, esq., Swanage, Dorsetshire.

Thanks were given for the following presents:

To the Author. The Religious Houses of Yorkshire, by George Lawton. London, 1853; 8vo.

To J. G. Nichols, esq. The Gentleman's Magazine for December; 8vo.

Professor Klein. Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern, No. vj. Mainz, 1855; 4to.

Mr. J. Clarke, of Easton, communicated that a labourer had turned

up a *faciam* unit¹ of James I, in a field at Dennington, in good preservation. A halfpenny of Edward I, of the London mint, had also been found at Old Hall, Letheringham.

John Barrow, esq., of the Admiralty, exhibited a terra-cotta mask of a face, found in 1843 among the ruins of Babylon, by lieutenant James Fitzjames, R.N., one of the lamented sufferers in the expedition with sir John Franklin. The image had been covered with a vitreous substance of a green colour, much of which is still retained upon it. The execution is very rude, the features are represented singularly angular, and the eyelids are much elongated.

Mr. Bateman communicated the following "List of a portion of the Anglo-Saxon Pennies found, in June 1855, by labourers cutting a field drain at Scotby, near Carlisle :

"Eadweard the first, 901-924. 1.—EADVVEARD.REX; rev., ABBA—MON., in two lines. 2.—Same obverse; rev., AEDER—ED.MO., in two lines (two specimens). 3.—Same obverse; rev., DRVHT—VALD.MO., in two lines. 4.—Same obverse; rev., GARV—LF.MO., in two lines (not in Ruding). 5.—Same obverse; rev., IODN—ÆD.M. (sic), in two lines, the first letter is broken away. 6.—Same obverse; rev., VVJN—BERHT., in two lines (not in Ruding). 7.—Same obverse; rev., VVLF—AR.MO., in two lines. None of the above have the portrait of Eadweard.

"Athelstan, 924-940. 1.—ÆDELSTAN.REX; rev., ALIT.MO—NETA.BI., in two lines. 2.—EDELSTAN.REX.TO.BRI.; rev., BEORARD.MON.LEGEC.F., Chester (not in Ruding). 3.—ÆDELSTAN.REX.; rev., DRVHT—VALD.MO., in two lines. 4.—Same obverse; rev., EADMV—ND.MO., in two lines. 5.—EDELSTAN.REX.TO.BR.; rev., ELFVINE.MON.LEIEC., Leicester (two specimens). 6.—EDELSTAN.RE.TO.BRLE.; rev., PAYLES.MON.LEIEC.FI., Leicester. 7.—EDELSTAN.REX.TO.BRIT.; rev., REGNALD.MO.EFORPIC., York. 8.—ÆDELSTAN.REX.; rev., SIEEHE—LM.MON., in two lines (not in Ruding). 9.—EDELSTAN.REX.TOT.BRIT.; rev., SIEEALF.MONETA. (not in Ruding.) 10.—ÆDELSTAN.REX., bust to the right, with a helmet with three points; rev., SMALA.MONETA., a cross formed of four crosslets, in the centre. 11.—EDELSTAN.REX.TO.BRIE.; rev., TOTES.MONET.LEIEC.FI., Leicester. 12.—EDELSTAN.REX.TO.BRIEN.; rev., VVLFSTAN.MON.LEIE., Leicester.

"*Observations.* The above coins (twenty-one in number) are, with one exception, of ordinary types, although at least five of the moneyers are not recorded in the lists given by Ruding. The coin bearing the helmed head of Athelstan is of considerable rarity. It is observable that the coins of this prince, which have the moneyers' names in two lines across the reverse, are of much ruder execution than the others in which the title of Athelstan, as sole monarch, appears on the obverse, and which have the place of mintage expressed, in addition to the name of the mo-

¹ "*Faciam eos in gentem unam.*" See Akerman's *Numismatic Manual*, p. 335.

neyer, on the reverse. Very few of the coins appear to have been worn by circulation, and they generally present large and well struck examples, in perfect condition, a few only having been recently broken at the edges by injudicious handling and postal transit. With regard to the last, it may be well to caution our members against transmitting articles of this description by post, as the officials whose duty it is to stamp the letters, will invariably do so most vigorously upon the object enclosed, if, by any swelling of the envelope, its presence is betrayed either to sight or touch."

The coins above enumerated form a portion only of those found; and the remainder, it is to be feared, have passed into various hands, from which we can expect no particular account.

Mr. Samuel Shaw, of Andover, communicated the following notice of Roman coins recently found at Andover :

"The town of Andover," he observes, "is of great antiquity, being many times referred to in Saxon times: affairs of importance, and treaties, were concluded in it; and several witagemots were holden in its vicinity. Stukeley and others claim for it a Roman parentage, identifying it with the Andævreon of Ravennas. However this may be, I think there is great probability that it was the site of Roman occupation, if not a station. Within the last year two small finds of Roman coins have confirmed me in the foregoing opinion. At about half-a-mile from the town, on the Weyhill road, in a field opposite Cromwell Villa, a boy, following the plough, picked up eighteen third-brass coins of Tetricus and his son, A.D. 267-273, badly struck, seldom the whole of the type appearing on the coin, but fresh and sharp, never apparently having been in circulation. There is no appearance of any remains of buildings in the field; but when next under the plough, I shall more particularly examine it. I add a list of the coins as follows :

TETRICUS SENIOR.

.... TETRICVS P F AVG ;	rev., LAETITIA ...	Usual type.
IMP C TETR	„ IA AVG	Victory running.
IMP C TETRICVS P F AVG	„ SPES PVBLICA	Hope.
..... RICVS P F AVG	„ PVBLI..	Hope.

TETRICUS JUNIOR.

C P T . TRICVS CAES	rev., PI ... S AVG...	Sacrificial utensils
.....VS CAES	„ F ... AS AVGVST	ditto.
... TETRI	„ . IETAS	ditto.
.....RICVS CAES	„	Hope (?)
C PIVESVS CAES	„ SPES PVBLICA	ditto.
C PIVES TETRICVS CAES	„ SPES P . B . . CA	ditto.
C PIVESVS CAES	„ PUBLIC	ditto.
..... CVS CAES	„ SPES P	ditto.

.... ES TETRICVS CAESS	rev., ... PVBLICA	Hope.
..... RICVS CAES	„ .. ES PVBL...	ditto.
... ESV TETRIC.....	„ PV.....	ditto.
..... TETRICVS CA..	„ SPES PV.....	ditto.
. PIVESV TETRICVS CAE .	„ .. IN . IVVENT	Usual type.
..... SV TETRICVS C...	„ .. INC IV... T	ditto.

“Not long after finding the preceding, some labourers, in making a new approach into a gentleman's grounds, called Wollousdean, just on the verge of the town, south-east where the old London road and the new road to Andover road station, on the South-Western railway, diverges, picked up five Roman third-brass coins. These are likewise very sharp, but rather better minted; and, I judge, had but little, if any, wear in circulation. They are of Victorinus, A.D. 265-267, as follows:

IMP C VICTO... NVS P F AVG ;	rev., SALVS AVG.	Hygeia feeding a serpent.
IMP C VICTORINVS P F AVG	„ PAX AVG ; V K in field.	Peace.
IMP VICTO... NVS P F AVG	„ FIDES MILITVM,	female with 2 standards.
IMP C VICTORI	„ PROVID... IA AVG.	Providence standg.
..... INVS P F AVG	„ DENTIA AVG.	Ditto.

“All these coins are, I know, of very common types, and of no value, except as they bear upon the early occupation of the town by the Romans; and it is on this account that I bring them before you, that, in case other discoveries should be made, they may be referred to. Roman coins are often found in this neighbourhood: a good denarius of Antoninus Pius (Liberality type), and one also of Trajan, have been brought even within the last few weeks. I have no doubt whatever that the country was populated in Roman times far beyond the general supposition.”

The same correspondent also remarks that “an extremely rare penny of Beorchtric (Saxon) was found within two miles of Andover last summer. It is figured and described in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, No. 65, p. 59. With the exception of one in the Hunterian collection, at Glasgow, it is the only coin of that king known. Its weight was twenty-four grains.”

Mr. Shaw also states that he has “recently seen some old documents of the borough of Andover, on which are the borough arms, with the motto, *HELPE NOWE AND EVER*. This motto does not now appear; nor is it known as belonging to Andover. It would be interesting to learn when it ceased to be used.”

A portion of the paper communicated by Mr. J. F. Baigent to the congress in the Isle of Wight, which time would not permit of being delivered, was read, in relation to the Lymerston family. (See pp. 277-302, *ante*.)

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, hon. sec., read the following paper,

"ON THE MAZER.

"In looking over the old inventories of both lay and sacred establishments, we are often struck with the great variety of drinking vessels therein enumerated. Entries occur of godets, hanaps, crinzes, beakers, whiskins, etc., of all sizes, materials and value; but beyond their bare titles, little information is to be gleaned from these early records. And if we turn to our glossaries, they only tell us that such and such a name was given to a broad-mouthed bowl or covered cup, and we remain as ignorant as ever in regard to the real form and character of the vessel whose diagnostics we are endeavouring to understand. Among other denominations frequently met with, and as frequently misunderstood, is that of *mazer*.¹ Cooper, ed. 1559, says: '*Trulla*, a great cuppe, brode and deepe, such as great masers were wont to bee.' Baret, 1580, speaks of 'A mazer, a broad piece to drinke in.' And Cotgrave defines '*Jadeau*' as 'a bowle or mazer.' Such is a fair sample of the information procurable from dictionaries in regard to the mazer; and if we would know the true origin and intent of the title, we must travel back into distant ages, and seek for it in the language of our primitive ancestors. The mazer derives its denomination from *masarn*, the Celtic name of the maple,² the wood of which was used, in very early times, for making drinking vessels. Hence it is obvious that the title has nothing to do with either the form or size of the vessel, but with the material of which it is composed.

'Off lanycolle thou shall prove,
That is a cuppe to my behove,
Off maser it is ful clene.' (*M.S. Cantab.*, Ff. v, 48, f. 50.)

None but a maple-wood vessel can be a mazer, although the name is often given to any large bowl.

"One perhaps of the earliest examples of the mazer now remaining, is that still preserved at Herboldown Hospital, Canterbury, which is of the time of Edward I. It is a maple bowl, standing on a low foot, and measures about eight inches diameter at the upper edge. Both rim and base are mounted in silver gilt; and within the bowl, at bottom, is a silver-gilt medallion, rather above three-and-a-half inches diameter, representing the equestrian figure of Guy of Warwick piercing a prostrate dragon with his lance, whilst a lion is making ready to attack him. The hero's shield is heater-shaped, and charged with the Beauchamp arms—a fesse between six cross-crosslets. Round the medallion is the following legend:

'Gy de Warwic Ad A Noun
Yui Occis le Dragoun.

¹ This name is often confounded with the *mazelin*, which was made of metal.

² The mock-plane, sycamore, or great maple (*acer pseudo-platanus*).

‘Of Warwick he hight Guyon
Here he slays the Dragon.’

“This mazer is said to hold about six wine pints, and was used at the annual feast of St. Nicholas, when the brethren and sisters of the hospital assembled in honour of their patron saint.¹

“A mazer bowl of the time of Richard II was laid before the Association on April 23rd, 1845, by Mr. E. P. Shirley. The mottled wood is highly polished, and on the broad silver-gilt rim is engraved the following, in characters slightly raised above the hatched ground :

‘In the name of the Trinite
Fille the kup, and drink to me.’

“Of the same period as the above is the mazer of archbishop Scrope, now kept in the vestry of York Minster. On its silver rim is inscribed the following: ‘Richard Archebeschope Scrope grantes on to all tho that drinkes of this Cope XL Days to pardun. Beschope Nws’m grantes in same forme aforesaide XL days to pardun.’ Between these legends are the names of ‘Robrt Gybsun’ and ‘Robart Strensall.’ In the British Museum is a cartulary of the guild of Corpus Christi at York, in which this mazer is mentioned, and where it is stated to have been given to the guild by Agnes, wife of Henry Wyman, who was mayor of York in the years 1407-8-9. It was during the second year of Wyman’s mayoralty that the guild was established. After its dissolution, the bowl passed into the possession of the Cordwainers’ company, who added another silver plate in the year 1622, and their arms in 1669. On the breaking up of that company in 1808, the mazer was given by Mr. Hornby, their last master, to the dean and chapter of York.

“Oriol College, Oxford, possesses a very curious mazer of the fifteenth century. Inside the bowl is a silver bulb, adorned with enamel, and on the silver-gilt rim is inscribed :

‘Vir racione bibas non quod petit atra voluptas
Sic caro casta datur lis lingue suppedatur.’

“In the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for May 1791, p. 417, is engraved a mazer of the fifteenth century, which was discovered near Crediton in Devon, and probably once belonged to the old church there. It is described as two inches and three-eighths high, six inches diameter at the brim, and holding exactly a pint and a half wine measure. The upper part is mounted in silver gilt, and graven with flowers and foliage, and the names of the three kings of Cologne and the offerings they made to the infant Saviour :

‘+ Jasper fert Myrram. Tus Melchior. Baltazar Aurum.’²

¹ An outline of this mazer is given in the *Gent. Mag.* for April 1784, p. 257.

² At Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, is a vessel called “the cup of the three kings”, from its being inscribed round its margin with the names of the three Magi. It is of the fifteenth century.

"This mazer closely resembles one of the same date, figured and described in our *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 370, and upon the broad silver mounting of which is inscribed :

‘Potum et nos benedicat Agyos’;

which has been rendered, ‘O Holy One, bless the drink and us.’

“Considerable uncertainty exists respecting the drinking vessel called a *godet* or *goddard*; but if Camden be right in the name being a corruption of ‘*godly the cup*,’ some of the old mazers, with pious and graceful legends, may really be *godets*; and this idea is strengthened by an entry of the time of Henry VI, wherein mention is made of ‘ij litil mazers called godardes covered, and another litil maser uncovered.’¹

“Some of the early mazers are not only edged, but lined with silver. Examples of both kinds are mentioned in Davies’s *Ancient Rites of Durham* (ed. 1672, pp. 126-7): for instance, one mazer ‘largely and finely edg’d about with silver, and double gilt with gold:’ another, ‘the outside whereof was of black mazer, and the inside of silver, double gilt; the edge finely wrought round about with silver, and double gilt.’

“Mazers were also occasionally adorned with carving. Spenser alludes to one so decorated, when he says :

‘Then lo, Perigot! the pledge which I plight,
A mazer ywrought of the maple ware,
Wherein is enchased many a fair sight
Of bears and tigers that make fierce war.’

And ‘*carv’d mazers*’ are also spoken of by Thomas Randolph in his *Poems*, p. 92.

“Bailey defines a mazer to be ‘a broad standing cup or drinking bowl;’ and I have now to introduce to your notice an example which exactly answers to his description. It is of mottled maple-wood, of a rich brown colour. The bowl is supported on a short round stem and foot, and measures five and three-quarter inches in diameter; the entire height of the vessel being rather above five and a half inches. It holds a full wine quart. The edge has been garnished with an engrailed rim of silver, which I regret to say was ripped off and cast into the crucible, shortly before I purchased the specimen. With the exception of the loss of rim, this mazer is in very perfect condition, and belongs to the close of the reign of Elizabeth or early part of that of James I.²

“Heywood, in his *Philocothonista, or the Drunkard opened, dissected and anatomized*, 4to., London, 1635, p. 45, enumerates *mazers* in his long list of drinking vessels then in use; but from this period we hear

¹ Kal. Exch. ii, p. 251.

² Two drinking cups of the time of James I are described in the *Journal*, iii, 335, and 4, 403. They are of wood; but the particular kind is not mentioned. The religious inscriptions would, however, lead to the belief that they may be mazers.

little or nothing about them, and their desuetude may therefore be placed in the time of Charles I.

“Fosbroke (ed. 1843, p. 390), however, speaks of maple bowls being used ‘on the celebration of the lord mayor’s day.’ Does he here allude to the little drinking cups in which hot spiced wine was distributed by some of the City companies, in the water procession? These cups were, if I may judge from a specimen before me, of beech-wood; and if so, have no claim to the title of mazers. The records of the several companies would of course settle the point; and perhaps some of our City friends will kindly look into the matter.

“Such is a brief sketch of the origin, and some of the existing examples, of one of the most famous of our old English drinking bowls. Though the mazer is no longer seen upon the festive board—no longer mantles with the heart-cheering liquor, and the lip has ceased to press its ample brim, the hand to grasp its swelling sides, and its very form and fashion well-nigh forgotten,—its name is enshrined for ever in the poet’s verse, and its renown will last for ages. Prince and prelate, baron and burgher, each claimed it as his own; and often, when filled with rich juice, did it pass around as a pledge of good-fellowship—a true *poculum charitatis*. But those gladsome days are fled; a cold stiff utilitarianism has supplanted the warm and generous feelings of our forefathers; and it is perhaps because it has done so, that the archæologist loves to linger so fondly over the reminiscences of the past, and cling to every relic which speaks of old times, whether it be the panoply of war, the gaud of peace, or mazer of high revelry.”

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of a second portion of sir Gardner Wilkinson’s paper on Etruscan tombs, the conclusion of which will be given at the next meeting.

The Association then adjourned over the Christmas, until January 9, 1856.

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ERRATA ET ADDENDA.

Page 54, line 6, for *mearns* read *merse*.

- " 70, " 40, for *Anelax* read *Anelace*.
- " 80, " 14, for Charles I, read Charles II.
- " 86, " 28, for Ziniscos read Zimisces.
- " 88, " 35, for *Nukattiwa* read *Nukahiva*.
- " 90, " 7, for "tracings" read "traceries".
- " 143, " 32, for *veron* read *verou*.
- " 220, " 8, for "fifth" read "sixth".
- " 221, " 39, for "sixth" read "seventh".
- " 223, " 16, for "seventh" read "eighth".

" — " 24, after Baldwin, read "the third, seventh earl of Devon".

- " 231. The prayer book used by Charles I subsequent to his sentence, is still in the possession of the Evelyn family, at Wootton park, near Dorking.

The watch, or rather silver clock, presented by the king to sir Thomas Herbert, referred to by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, has been figured and described in the third volume of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (p. 103-7).

In reference to the George in the collar of the Order of the Garter, mentioned as having been presented to bishop Juxon by Charles I, on the scaffold, a paragraph taken from a newspaper of Jan. 1830, has been copied into the *Gentleman's Magazine* for December 1855, in which it is said that the marquess Wellesley had it in his possession, and often wore it. That it consisted of a beautiful sardonyx, and was encircled by a row of the largest diamonds taken in the tent of Tippoo Saib; and presented, with others, to his lordship by the East India Company. It is therefore now, probably, in the keeping of some member of the family; as the jewel, returnable upon the death of the knight, would be that with which he was invested at the time of receiving the honour of the order. The jewel received by the marquess Wellesley could not have been the one given by Charles I to Juxon on the day of his execution; that could not have passed into the hands of any of the officers of the order, to be bestowed upon some newly made knight.

- " 235. Accounts in connexion with the rings in memory of Charles I are various. In Hulbert's *History of Salop* (p. 152), a ring is mentioned as being in the possession of the misses Pigott, of Upton Magna, stated to be one of four presented by the monarch prior to his execution. It exhibits a beautiful medallion of the king; and on the inside of the ring, and the reverse of the portrait, is inscribed, over a death's head, "Jan. 30, 1648, *Martyr Populi*." An inquiry being made through that useful medium, *Notes and Queries*, a writer in vol. vii, p. 164, makes mention of a ring in the possession of Mrs. Andrew Henderson, of 102, Gloucester-place, formerly Miss Adolphus. It came to her through her mother's family; and it is said to have been presented by Charles I to sir Lionel Walden on the day of the king's execution. It resembles the one described by Hulbert; but the inscription differs, it being "*Sic transit gloria regum*." Mrs. Henderson assigns the three other rings, respectively, to bishop Juxon, colonel Ashburnham, and Herbert, the

king's secretary. In *Notes and Queries* (vol. vii, p. 184), Mr. C. Ley, of Bere Regis, communicates that a ring is in the possession of W. K. Rogers, esq., usually regarded as one of four rings presented by Charles. The family of Rogers of Lota were remarkable for their attachment to the crown; and the ring is referred to in Burke's *Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland*, as a heirloom belonging to them. Robert Rogers, who received large grants of land from Charles II, had them confirmed to him by James II; and in his will, dated in 1690, and registered in the Record Court, Dublin (written within brackets to call special attention), there occurs the following passage: "And I also bequeath to Noblett Rogers the miniature portrait ring of the martyr Charles I, given by that monarch to my ancestor previous to his execution; and I particularly desire that it may be preserved in the name and family." The setting of the ring, and the inscription on it, corresponds with that of the misses Pigott.

Mr. Bateman's museum contains another relic of Charles I, thus described in his catalogue: "List O. 1, No. 41. Miniature portrait of Charles I within an oval crowned garter, inscribed (literally) *DISIPENTVR INIMICI*, minutely and artistically braided in *his own hair*. Total height, one inch and three-quarters; in a small, old, black frame, of oval form, three inches high. This interesting relic was formerly the property of lord James Beauchamp, bishop of Hereford, grandson of Charles II (being the seventh son of Charles duke of St. Albans, who was the natural son of Charles II by Eleanor Gwinne). The bishop was born in 1709, and died 28 October 1787. It latterly belonged to the late rev. William Bird, of Mordiford near Hereford."

In addition, Mr. Bateman remarks that it is an astonishing work of art, considering the material. The likeness is perfectly preserved; and although it is not *wholly* composed of the king's hair, it is evident, from a microscopic examination, that the hair, beard, and other dark parts of the portrait, are so; the lighter parts being composed of hair of a more suitable tint. It remains only to be observed, that the abbreviation of the word *dissipentur* arises from the confined space into which the letters had to be introduced. It would have been impossible to have placed more letters in the same narrow bounds. It is almost needless to say that the motto was a favourite one with Charles. In its entire form it appears upon the Oxford coinage of 1642: "*Exurgat Deus. Dissipentur inimici.*"

Page 204, line 19, for *Spitt* read *Spill*, i. e. Giles.

" 206, " 8, for *ulter* read *ulteriori*.

" — " 28, for Brackenburg read Brackenbury.

A copious extract of the evidences relating to Marrick priory will be found in Nichols' *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*. It was printed under the care and superintendence of the late Mr. Thomas Stapleton, V.P., of the Society of Antiquaries.

" 294, for plate 22, fig. 3, read plate 21, fig. 2.

" 300, for plate 21, fig. 2, read plate 22, fig. 3.

FINIS.

NOTICES.

THE Volume for 1855 is completed by the publication of the present number of the Journal, and it is now on sale to the public at the price of 30s. Two Title Pages are given, to suit the convenience of those who either possess entire series or volumes of a portion only.

To meet the wishes of numerous Associates, in the ensuing numbers a part of each Journal will be devoted to archæological notices and antiquarian intelligence, relating to discoveries and publications, both foreign and domestic, thus presenting a more extended record of Archæological research. Communications to this department are requested to be forwarded to the care of the Editor of the Journal.

The Associates are reminded that the Annual Subscription of One Guinea becomes due on the 1st of January, and that it is desirable it should be paid as early as convenient as the extent of the Illustrations necessarily depends upon the amount of the annual receipt.

The names of persons, either Ladies or Gentlemen, desirous of subscribing for 1856, are requested to be transmitted to the Treasurer, T. J. Pettigrew, Esq., or to the Hon. Secretaries, Mr. Planché and Mr. H. Syer Cuming.

The Public Meetings, to which the Council anxiously direct the attention of the Associates, and request their presence, together with that of their friends, will be resumed on Wednesday Evening, the 9th of January, at half-past eight p.m., *precisely*.

